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ABSTRACT

The lives and contributions of nine women educators, all early founders or leaders of the International Kindergarten Union (IKU) or the National Council of Primary Education (NCPE), are profiled in this book. Their biographical sketches are presented in two sections. The Froebelian influences are discussed in Part 1 which includes the chapters on Margarethe Schurz, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Susan E. Blow, Kate Douglas Wiggin, and Elizabeth Harrison. Alice Temple, Patty Smith Hill, Ella Victoria Dobbs, and Lucy Gage are found in the second part which emphasizes "Changes and Challenges." A concise background of education history describing the movements and influences preceding and involving these leaders is presented in a single chapter before each section. A final chapter summarizes the main contribution of each of the women and also elaborates more fully on such topics as IKU cooperation with other organizations, international aspects of IKU, the writings of its leaders, the standardization of curriculums through testing, training teachers for a progressive program, and the merger of IKU and NCPE into the Association for Childhood Education. (SDH)

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DAUNTLESS WOMEN IN CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

1856-1931

by AGNES SNYDER

for

Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee of Association for Childhood Education International

Olga Adams, *Chairman*, 1961-1969

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Helen A. Bertermann
Eleanor Burts
Jennie Campbell
Merle Gray
Elizabeth Neterer
Cleo Rainwater (deceased 1961)
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This book is dedicated to all who, in the spirit of the dauntless leaders of yesterday, are confronting educational problems of today.

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Foreword

For many years a group of members of the Association for Childhood Education International has felt that the educational world, including the membership, should know more about and thus appreciate the significance of the Association's illustrious heritage—particularly in view of the fact that many early leaders in education were members of the International Kindergarten Union and the National Council of Primary Education, the two organizations that merged in 1931 to become the Association for Childhood Education.

In 1961 the ACEI Executive Board, convinced of this need, appointed a committee to study the historical background of kindergarten and elementary education and to report its documentary findings in a personalized narrative.

At its first meeting in 1961, the committee decided that the assignment "Early Leaders in Childhood Education" was too all inclusive a task to undertake. It proposed that the book be confined to the founders and early leaders of the International Kindergarten Union and the National Council of Primary Education. Thus the book could present the leadership qualities of those women who had helped shape education, whose steadfast beliefs and classroom practices were largely an unknown account in today's educational world. The committee felt that enough documented material could be gathered from publications and from interviews with those who had known and/or studied with these leaders to present them as lively, personable, vital and effective participators in their social and educational world. The ACEI Executive Board promptly and enthusiastically approved the committee's proposal. The committee formulated an outline of the periods to be included; named individuals who stood out as great leaders throughout these periods; listed source materials and knowledgeable persons who could be asked to help in this undertaking.

When the committee met in 1962, it had amassed considerable material giving special attention to personal anecdotes of the leaders. However, it was spotty and unorganized. Acknowledging the need for a writer who could give focus and guidance to these efforts, the committee asked Dr. Agnes Snyder, Publications Committee member and frequent contributor to Association publications, to undertake the task. As she enthusiastically accepted to write, Dr. Snyder stated, "All my life I have wanted to tell such a story." Thus the first milestone passed—and indeed a fortunate one for the success of the book.

The committee went to work with new vigor, enlarging its membership to include key persons in various geographical areas. Agnes Snyder did more effective research and read more documents than the entire committee! She helped to identify weaknesses in the material and to clarify our thinking. She was indefatigable in her work and showed genuine appreciation of the work of all committee members in gathering material. She visited the home base of many leaders, studied archives and interviewed colleagues who had known leaders in various universities and colleges in which they had worked. From this survey, it became apparent that the early childhood leaders were women who had been successful teachers of young children and later teachers of teachers.

Dealing with nine women from 1856 to 1931, the history-biography is written against a backdrop of the personal influences and the social and educational forces of the times that shaped their lives. It aims to project each leader's ideas, as they were strengthened and made effective through action with IKU as the vehicle. Eight leaders worked in universities, colleges and organizations, including branches of IKU, NCPE and later ACE.

The book does not attempt to include every leader who made significant contributions, as this would result in volumes. It does, however, highlight educators who had leadership roles in IKU and later in NCPE.

The committee members, constantly stimulated by the writer, worked until its completion. The project has had the continuous backing of the ACEI Executive Board and of Alberta Meyer, executive secretary, and Rebecca Mauzy, associate secretary. It has had the benefit of the editorial skill of Margaret Rasmussen, Association editor 1956-1969 and editor-coordinator of *Dauntless Women* project 1961-1972; the typing skill of Edris Service, editorial department secretary; the proof reading help of Lucy Prete Martin, assistant editor, *Childhood Education*, and of Elvie Lou Luetge 1971-1972 fellow.

The committee adds its sincere gratitude to the many friends, too numerous to name, who have constantly contributed additional items of valuable information that have enriched the content of *Dauntless Women in Childhood Education 1856-1931*.

Olga Adams
Chairman, Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee
Association for Childhood Education International

Writer's Preface

Why did I so readily agree to write this book? That story goes back to the early years of this century, to my senior high school days. When Baltimore decided to establish its own teacher-training school with the first year of the two-year program given in the senior year of high school, they made it optional for those who wished to teach. (I wanted to do anything in the world but teach! However, because of the insistence of my mother, I was in this education program.) Three courses were given: a review of English grammar, another of arithmetic, and the history of education. I recall very little about the first two courses but the third course was the spark that fired my imagination. It was the teacher, of course, who was responsible for stirring an adolescent to new heights of aspiration and new depths of understanding.

The texts were Painter's *History of Education* and Quick's *Educational Reformers*, both written before the turn of the century and both part of the International Education Series edited by William T. Harris (a figure who appears in the present book). These two authors were a fine combination: one gave the sequence of events in the evolution of educational history and the other gave the personal, human history behind the events.

Lenore Carpenter had taught my other courses in history and had already made Runnymede an epic event for me. The kings and queens, the yeomen and the warriors had moved across the pages of history with all their human frailties and strengths. And then Miss Carpenter gave me my first insight into education through those who had thought, felt, worked and often fought to give men fulfillment through the unconquerable power of education. She gave the "great" in education stature comparable to other heroic historic figures who had built empires, waged battles for freedom, gone into the outposts of earth to bring health and hope to those in misery.

Although I had not fully realized it until I busied myself writing this book, all through my varied and long teaching years this was the spark that had kindled the urge to write educational biography. Many times I had asked myself why so little biographic material existed in educational literature comparable to the other professions—particularly so little about women. It was something of all this that operated when I gave my enthusiastic "yes" to Olga Adams, chairman of Early Leaders in Childhood Education, when she asked me to write for the Committee. Olga Adams provided a set of International Kindergarten Union Yearbooks dating from 1892 to 1931, a priceless source with its value enhanced with marginal notes by Alice Temple, the original owner. That was a start!

As we worked, our ambitions grew. We would not be content with biographic sketches of women leaders, "the dear old gals" as we affectionately called them, but we would intertwine them with the evolution of the educational history that they had helped to make. In one volume, for a limited time-span of 1856-1931 and a single aspect of educational history, early childhood education, we would do what Painter and Quick had done in two volumes for the entire scope of educational history.

Many times my reach so far exceeded my grasp that the task seemed beyond my strength. Then would come a cheering word from a Committee member or an enthusiastic note telling of a "find." And always there was my well-organized house-mate who night after night would come to my room and insist, with her help, that I reduce the accumulated chaos of the day into order for the next day's work. To all, my thanks and gratitude for an experience both intellectually stimulating and intensely human.

AGNES SNYDER
Wilmington, Delaware
March 1972

Appreciation

The writer wishes to express her gratitude for the unstinted time given her for interviews as she visited the towns, cities and institutions with which the "dauntless women" were identified. Although numerous credits appear here and in the text, it would be impossible to acknowledge individually the many others who gave so willingly of their time in interviews.

Had it not been for Margaret Rasmussen's enthusiasm, her insistence, her arduous editorial work, the manuscript would have been deposited, along with its source material, in the ACEI Archives.—A.S.

Appreciation

Chapter 2, **Margarethe Schurz**

To Gladys Mollart, Curator, and the Staff, Watertown Hostorical Society, Watertown, Wisconsin

Chapter 4, **Susan E. Blow**

To Elizabeth Golterman, Hillsboro, Missouri
To Ruth Cornelius, St. Louis, Missouri
To Margaret Hilliker, St. Louis, Missouri
To Lizzie Lee Kirk, St. Louis, Missouri
To M. Charlotte Jammer, formerly of New York, New York
To Wheelock College Archives, Boston, Massachusetts

Chapter 5, **Kate Douglas Wiggin**

To Rhoda Kellogg, Golden Gate Kindergarten Association Archives, San Francisco, California
To William G. Carr, Washington, D. C.
To Linda Melvoin, Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington

Chapter 6, **Elizabeth Harrison**

To Mary-Louise Neumann, Librarian, National College of Education Archives, Evanston, Illinois
To K. Richard Johnson, President, National College of Education

Chapter 7, **Education in Its Historical Setting**

To Marc Jantzen, University of Pacific, Stockton, California
To Madeline G. Kinney, Curator, La Porte County Historical Society, La Porte, Indiana

Chapter 8, **Alice Temple**

To Margaret Chenery, Big Sur, California
To Martha King Alexander, Louisville, Kentucky
To Ida B. DePencier, Chicago, Illinois

Chapter 9, **Patty Smith Hill**

To Agnes Burke, New York, New York
To Charlotte Garrison, New York, New York
To Maycie K. Southall, Nashville, Tennessee
To Filson Club Library, Louisville, Kentucky
To M. Charlotte Jammer, formerly of New York, New York
To Martha King Alexander, Louisville, Kentucky
To Frances F. Gwinn, formerly of Louisville, Kentucky
To Agnes Adams, Deerfield, Illinois

Chapter 10, **Ella Victoria Dobbs**

To Verna Wulfekammer, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri
To Lois Knowles, Columbia, Missouri
To Ruth Graham, Christian College, Columbia, Missouri
To Fred Shane, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri
To Everett Keith, Missouri State Teachers Association, Columbia, Missouri

Chapter 11, **Lucy Gage**

To Maycie K. Southall, Nashville, Tennessee
To Mary Joyce Adams, Denver, Colorado
To Carrie Bailey, formerly of Nashville, Tennessee
To the Faculty of George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee:

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  J. E. Windrow, former Director of Laboratory School
  A. L. Crabb, Department of Education
  Gean Morgan, Teacher at Laboratory Nursery School
  Ruth Gillespie, Home Economics Department
  Jana W. Jones, Home Economics Department
  Mrs. Gene Rhodes, Director of Housing
  Clara Gibson Haddox, Physical Education Department

To George Peabody College for Teachers Archives (Stevens Collection)

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To University of Delaware Library, Newark
To Wilmington Library, Wilmington, Delaware

A SPECIAL WORD OF APPRECIATION

A special word of appreciation goes to over one hundred Association friends, members and nonmembers, who rescued the "Dauntless Women" manuscript from remaining in the ACEI Archives by contributing gifts to make its publication possible. They had faith in the value of a history of childhood education for *today's* readers.

May I add a note concerning the *first contributor* who also foretold the value of the manuscript? She is May G. Nissen, a "pioneer" of Livermore, California, my high school English teacher, who writes, "I know the book will be valuable, if you judge it so. My wish is for success in your enterprise." Miss Nissen characterizes the old (yet *new*) belief in unity as did Froebel and his followers—"to feel connected with and interested in all about him: with Nature, with his fellow man, and with God."

Each reader will think of his own "pioneer" teacher of whom it can be said, "A teacher affects eternity."—MARGARET RASMUSSEN

Kommt, lasst uns mit unsern Kindern leben.
Fröbel

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1856 AND BEFORE

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1856 AND BEFORE

The Pull of Tradition

NO CONSISTENT ATTENTION TO THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN IN THE United States of America had been given until well after the nineteenth century had passed its midpoint. At first sight it seems anomalous that a country dedicated to equality of opportunity should be so tardy in providing the education for children upon which the realization of its ideal was so largely dependent. It is difficult, too, to reconcile the neglect of early education with the speed with which higher education was established. Not only had the Puritans scarcely broken ground for their essential housing when they planned a college but before the American Revolution their Harvard of 1636 had been followed by William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Pennsylvania, Brown, Rutgers, Dartmouth, and King's College (now Columbia University). When viewed, however, in the total cultural context of early American life, this obvious educational inconsistency between ideals and practice is but one of many examples of the pull of tradition and the priority of established customs over new concepts and aspirations.

Just as the homes of the wealthier colonists were often built of bricks imported from England and furnished with the same period craft artistry and Oriental rugs that had embellished their European drawing-rooms, and as those of less favored circumstances eagerly awaited the humbler household articles the ships from home would unload, early American institutions likewise reflected the social and governmental structures of the Old World. Jurisprudence, business, religion, education—all adhered closely to European forms. Even when the spirit behind them was different the outward body was slow to change, and of no institution was the contrast greater between practice and the avowed principles upon which this country was founded than that of education.

The Founding Fathers declared that the continuance of this Republic, of government of, by, and for the people, depended upon raising the literacy of the masses; the Old World believed that the masses were best served when led by an educated elite. Diametrically opposed as these two concepts are, education in the early days of the Republic was patterned upon that of the Old World; hence the priority given to higher education.

Not only did higher education take precedence over all other forms but, like their European prototypes, American colleges and universities relied upon a strictly classical curriculum for the education assumed to provide the best preparation for leadership. This was true not only in the more settled coastal East but, even as migration moved Westward into totally uncultivated territory, Latin and Greek dominated the curriculum. When by 1856 all that is now continental United States had been acquired, the 264 institutions of higher education scattered throughout the land still held, in the main and with few exceptions, to the classical curriculum of the original colonial colleges.

Obviously, if higher education were to be more than a name there had to be some form of supporting school to provide preparation for college admission. The answer was found in the Latin Grammar School. True to its name it provided the elements of the classical education upon which higher education would build the superstructure. Both higher and secondary education were for men only, white men. Almost no opportunities were for women and even fewer for Negroes beyond the most elementary rudiments of education.

Limited to a comparatively small group of teenage and young adult males as were opportunities in secondary and higher education, the situation for children was infinitely worse. All along the way education for children had lagged. While it is true that Massachusetts in 1642 and 1647 had passed legislation with a view to establishing elementary schools, here and elsewhere in the colonies the laws were more permissive than mandatory and were poorly enforced. The curriculum was narrow in the extreme consisting of the Three R's and the Catechism, while the New England Primer—based on belief in the natural depravity of man, its content largely admonitions against evil and warnings of the terrible fate of the transgressor—was the main reading fare of many colonial children. Discipline was correspondingly severe and floggings were frequent and taken for granted.

Poor as the education of children was in quality, it was pitiably meager in quantity. Where there were district schools, most of them in New England, the school calendar was built around the demands of the farm and was accordingly restricted to two or three months of the year. In the South the children of the planters were taught by tutors usually imported from England; among the more humane families sometimes the children of the Negro slaves were included. Families of lesser means but ambitious for their children, frequently banded together to employ a teacher, sometimes one of themselves. These so-called "Dame Schools" varied in quality but averaged more on the inferior than on the superior side.

On all levels early American education was a far cry from preparation for carrying the rights and responsibilities of democratic living. At no level was this more true than in the early years of childhood.

The Hold of Tradition Weakening

MANY FORCES OPERATED TO BREAK THE HOLD THAT OLD WORLD TRADITION had on early American education. Among these, as is usually the case when change is effected, was the combination of practical demands and perceptive minds. Again characteristically, reform began at the upper educational levels and very slowly worked its way downward.

In the period before and after the Revolutionary War, as the frontier moved rapidly Westward, it became increasingly apparent that leadership in this new land required many skills not provided by a purely classical education. The practical arts of mathematics, surveying, navigation, and bookkeeping were necessities. Neither the college and university nor the Latin Grammar School, as then constituted, could provide the needed preparation.

It was the wisdom of Benjamin Franklin in his founding of the Franklin Academy in 1751 that opened the way toward an indigenous education. Although stressing the practical arts, the Academy was not merely utilitarian. The classics had a place in the curriculum as well as professional and vocational subjects. So satisfying were the academies in their combination of the old and the new that by 1850 they numbered 6,000 and were found in all the states. Along with the liberalizing of secondary education, higher education underwent comparable change as some colleges and universities added law and medicine to their programs.

The liberalizing trend in secondary and higher education affected more than the curriculum and moved forward slowly toward the ideal of equal opportunity through education for all Americans. In 1830 Oberlin College was founded with the expressed policy of admitting women and Negroes as well as men. In 1837 the first women, four in number, enrolled, while through the years the sons and daughters of ambitious freed Negroes found a welcome at Oberlin. In 1852 Antioch College was founded at Yellow Springs, Ohio, on a coeducational basis; during the 1850's certain state universities, notably in Utah, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, also became coeducational.

Changes in higher and secondary education took place more slowly in the East. Women were not welcome in the all-male institutions, nor were the offerings of these institutions particularly attractive to women. The problem was solved on the secondary level by the establishment of "female seminaries" or "female academies," the first founded by Emma Willard at Troy, New York, in 1821. On the higher level the situation led to the development of women's colleges, the first, Mount Holyoke, founded by Mary Lyon at South Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1836. The slow pace, however, continued and by 1850 Mount Holyoke was still alone in the field.

All schools at first were supported by tuitions and philanthropy, but as the ideal of education for all people gained ground over the aristocratic concept, the demand for free public education became insistent. Local labor unions formed after the 1819 Depression were particularly active in propagandizing for free public schools. In discussing the role of labor unions in bringing about free public education, H. G. Good makes the following comment:

> They understood Jefferson's declaration that all men are created equal to mean that every man whether employer or laborer was entitled to one vote, to even-handed justice, and to educational opportunity. Only with leisure and through education can a man develop his talents and inform his mind so that he will be able to carry out his duties as a citizen. Some of the early leaders impetuously declared that if the legislators had done their duty these ideals would have been realized in the first year of the Republic.[1]

H. G. Good goes on to say the movement for public education was not restricted to labor groups. Public education "was favored, and propaganda was supported by men and women of many classes including some of the rich, the governors of the states, editors, ministers, doctors, lawyers, and even by some of those who taught and many who were taught in private schools."[2]

Once again change came not at the elementary level but at a higher level, the public high school. Beginning in Boston, still with the aura of the classical curriculum imaged in its name, the English Classical High School was established for boys in 1821. Later it became simply the English High School and was followed by a similar school for girls in 1826. The next few decades saw the gradual establishment of public high schools; those among the best were in Boston, Philadelphia (1838), and Chicago (1856). Further advancement was indicated by Chicago High School in admitting both boys and girls. The curriculum was planned to meet the needs of those who would not go to college with emphasis on English, mathematics and social studies.[3] By 1860 there were over 300 such high schools, most of them in Massachusetts, New York and Ohio.[4]

In the early 1800's attention to the education of children was forced by conditions growing out of the Industrial Revolution. Families migrated to cities for employment, an influx of varied ethnic groups crowded in from abroad, children were exploited in cheap factory work, and soon unspeakable conditions in slum tenements and unsavory streets aroused the American conscience to the plight of its children. But Old World tradition still lingered; education of children of the underprivileged was looked upon mainly as a philanthropic responsibility. As in England charitably disposed people formed societies to handle the problem. Schools in Baltimore, for example, were financed by two such societies, The Society for the Education of the Male Poor and The Society for the Education of the Female Poor.

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[1] H. G. Good, *A History of American Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 120.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[4] R. Freeman Butts, *A Cultural History of Education* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947), p. 489.

For a time an answer to the problem of education for children of the masses was found in the Lancaster or Monitorial System promoted in England by Joseph Lancaster and in India by Andrew Bell. Here was a way that the educational level of the country could be raised with little financial cost. Through a carefully developed plan 500 or more children could be taught with the assistance of student monitors for an annual outlay of about two dollars a pupil. Beginning in New York in 1806 these schools spread rapidly throughout the country in the main cities—Philadelphia, Albany, Poughkeepsie, Schenectady, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Erie, Cincinnati and Detroit. They flourished in the first three decades of the century. Then a growing awareness that elementary education was more than factual drill combined with political and religious controversy in their administration brought the Monitorial Schools to an end in the 1840's.

The inadequacies of the Monitorial Schools sharpened the sensitivity of government officials to the responsibility for education which the United States Constitution had declared was upon *individual states*. By 1850 three states—Massachusetts, Delaware and Pennsylvania—had established free public school systems; Vermont established a state system in 1850 and Ohio in 1853; and California, Indiana, Michigan, New York, Connecticut and Rhode Island accomplished this in the 1860's. But not until after the Civil War did free public school education become general.

Two powerful and interlocking forces eventually spurred the creation of an education aimed at consistency with ever-changing practical needs and aspirations of people in a new land and the Industrial Revolution that created urban family and community-life problems. The hunger to know was still another human force that contributed to the emergence of an indigenous American education. This urge to seek new mental accomplishments, coinciding with the practical drive, seemed particularly intense among pioneers. It was not only Lincoln who as a boy trudged weary miles for books to devour by firelight, but other children throughout the country were driven by the same intense urge to learn. These children were often found among the most adverse circumstances seeking ways to their goals. Often, largely self-taught themselves, adults managed to teach and inspire others to follow the same path. Mary Jane Dillworth, Utah's first school teacher, was one such person.

> Mary Jane Dillworth was born in Westchester County, Pennsylvania. Her parents joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1844. The family moved to Nauvoo to be with the main body of the church.
>
> When the Mormons were driven out of Nauvoo in 1847 they established a settlement at Winter Quarters on the Missouri River to wait until Spring to go West. While at Winter Quarters Mary Jane Dillworth taught school.
>
> In the early Spring of 1847 she gathered the children about her and gave them instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and daily she read to them chapters from the Bible.
>
> In the Summer of that year the Dillworth family crossed the Plains to Utah. In the company were many children, and during the three months that the migrants—nearly one thousand in number—were on the trail Mary went from wagon to wagon and told the children stories and taught them songs and games.
>
> It is said that the company was met by Brigham Young while he was on his way back to Winter Quarters from Salt Lake Valley in the Autumn of 1847, and Mary Jane was asked by him to open a school "for the little ones" as soon as she arrived in the Valley.
>
> The company arrived in Salt Lake Valley in September, 1847. On October 19, just about a month later, Mary Jane Dillworth opened the first school in Utah in an old military tent shaped like an Indian tepee. The tent was near the center of the square in the Old Fort which had been built during the first summer. Rough logs were used for seats; the teacher's desk was an old camp stool.
>
> The children had some books, for all the emigrant companies that came to Utah in 1847 and later were urged to bring books and paper to the Valley. Caleb Dillworth, Mary Jane's father, brought a considerable library. Among the books were copies of Lindly Murray Readers and the old Webster Blue Back Speller.[5]

Other outposts were scattered in new and unsettled regions, to which venturesome American families were ever pushing and where the educational efforts to make children at least literate were as courageous and the facilities as inadequate as in the Mormon tent in "The Valley." But even in large cities in which public school systems had been established, conditions for learning were poor. Screwed-down desks instead of logs, a few more books, drab walls inset with blackboards in place of the canvas of a tent gave few advantages beyond Mary Jane Dillworth's school offerings—perhaps less, since the formal classroom often stimulated greater rigidity, less freedom for natural child activity, and more strained human relations. For the most part the school day consisted of a weary round of repetitious drill, and the curriculum was long sums in arithmetic, complicated spelling, moralistic reading—all of it bearing little relation to the child's abilities or needs in his life.

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[5] Adapted from Levi Edgar Young, "Mary Jane Dillworth Hammond, Utah's First School Teacher," *Utah Educational Review*, March 1928. Contributed by Jennie Campbell of Salt Lake City, Utah, member of the ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

Poor as these early public schools were, nevertheless an important beginning had been made in harmonizing the organization of education with the democratic ideals which the country hoped to approximate in its institutions. The framework of a system had been built—one by which all children could make their way, rung by rung, up an educational ladder. The duality of European education with dissimilar programs for the poor and the economically privileged was being questioned. There was some assumption of civic responsibility and less reliance upon philanthropy for furthering education. A form was evolving but the task of vitalizing education remained for the future.

Forerunners of Change

IN EVERY AGE THROUGHOUT HISTORY PHILOSOPHERS IN THEIR SEARCH for the good life eventually have turned for a solution to the education of children. The modern world had its share for men spoke vigorously and often pleadingly for a better life and better education for children.

Outstanding among the early Humanists of the Renaissance was the Italian Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446) who would re-create the spirit of Ancient Greece in the education of children and youth by combining the study of the classics with play, sports, games, physical health, dance and poetry. The Moravian Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670), inspired by the limitless potentialities of human nature as implied in Bacon's Novum Organum and by the freedom of inquiry of the Protestant Reformation, would have education for all children begin "at the mother's knee" and be continuous through the university. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the Swiss-born extremist in the democratic-naturalism and humanitarianism of philosophic thought, would leave all to nature in the education of children so that they might be unspoiled by the depravity of cities and adult society. He pleaded that children be studied, for "assuredly you do not know them." Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), the Swiss, moved by the same concerns but more temperate in their expression, strove to demonstrate in schools of his own creation the need for the study of one's environment as basic to education, the importance of the home, and the social regeneration of society through the education of children. Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852), the German and "Father of the Kindergarten," after wide experience in teaching at all age levels, concluded it was the foundation laid in the earliest years that counted most and play was the natural way of learning in those years.

None of these seminal thinkers had a marked impact on the education of their day. But their influence has lived on in endless progression, in chain reaction, as each built in his own way on what his predecessors had projected.

In the United States it was Froebel whose philosophy not only determined the direction at the beginning of interest in childhood education but continued to be a dominating influence for decades. This influence has never been entirely lost. Discredited in his last years in his own country because his liberal ideas had aroused fear in the autocratic Prussian government, he had looked longingly to America as a land in which his dreams could be fulfilled. He did not live to see how abundantly his dreams became a reality.

Other Europeans saw in the greater freedom of American institutions opportunity through education to find a way for a better life for more people. One of these was Robert Owen (1771-1858), British industrialist, and through him the thinking of Pestalozzi left its mark on American education.

Robert Owen had become interested in Pestalozzi's ideas on the regeneration of society through education. An industrialist himself, Owen was acquainted firsthand with the social evils rapidly growing out of the Industrial Revolution. He determined to try out Pestalozzi's ideas by establishing infant schools for the children of his factory workers at New Lanark, Scotland. Encouraged by the success of this venture, he decided to attempt a more ambitious project in America.

Owen purchased property on the lower Wabash River in Indiana in 1824 to carry out his purpose. He secured the services of thirty leading scholars of the day and set about to establish a superior community through a superior system of education under the direction of Joseph Neef, who had taught in Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland. The needs of all ages were to be met: an infant school for children from two through five; a higher school for both sexes from six to twelve; and an evening school for all workers over twelve. At all levels manual training and science were emphasized to a greater extent than in any other school of the period.

The community, New Harmony, shared the fate of most Utopias in the inability of human nature to stand the strains of communal living. There were 1,000 members of the community, many of whom had rushed to New Harmony to receive houses and a share in the "Equality."

But when they found that the loafers received just as much compensation as those who worked hard to make the community a success, the hard-workers simply "could not take it." Owen withdrew his support and the schools, good as they were reported to be, died with the community.[6]

Some American educators in these early days were also dissatisfied with education as it was and were ambitious for something better. One who in the first half of the nineteenth century most nearly approached an appreciation of the significance of early childhood and its uniqueness was Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet, Principal of the American Asylum for Deaf Mutes. The following excerpts from letters indicate his point of view:

> To a friend in Boston, 1828:
>
> I have thought for a long time that the attention of the public is by no means sufficiently directed to the education of children and youth in its earliest stages. I mean between three and eight.
>
> To a Committee of the Primary School Board of Boston, 1838:
>
> We have yet much to learn in the department of juvenile education. Had I the care of such a school I should feel that deeply. I would adopt pertinaciously no particular system, but commence with a few principles of procedure, and preserve as much as possible the features of the family state in the school; feel my way along, molding things into shape gradually, altering and abolishing and amending gradually.
>
> He (the principal) should have genuine originality of mind and the power of investigation; be wedded to no system, neither his own nor to one of others; apt to learn as well as to teach; ready to hear suggestions and to profit by them; speculative yet practical; enthusiastic yet cautious; and above all to be able to enter into the very soul of children, to think as they think, and to feel as they feel, loving them as if he were their father.

The excerpts from the letter to the Boston School Board were part of a response to a plan for a model school for children between the ages of four and seven. The school was established but not under Gallaudet's direction. Instead, Henry Barnard comments in a footnote to an article that the individual and mind were left out and class instruction was emphasized, not individual development or "the harmonious growth of the entire human being by natural methods."[7]

Scattered here and there over the country were small private schools that truly aimed at "the harmonious growth of the entire human being." One that probably had the most far-reaching effect was the Temple

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[6] Adapted from Arvell L. Funk, "The Boatload of Knowledge," *Outdoor Indiana*, Vol. 32, No. 1, October 1966, pp. 24-35. Contributed by Merle Gray, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

[7] Henry Barnard (ed.), *Kindergarten and Child Culture Papers*. Republished from *The American Journal of Education* (Hartford, Connecticut: Office of Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, 1890), pp. 529-532.

School of Bronson Alcott. Alcott, with little formal education but broadly self-educated through reading, turned to education for practical answers to the fundamental questions of being that plagued him.

The school was short-lived for the Boston of the 1830's was far from receptive to the "Conversations," as Alcott called his teaching, in which no subject of genuine interest to children was tabu. But the school lived on, especially through the friendship it had engendered between Alcott and Elizabeth Peabody, the primary promoter of the American kindergarten in its beginning days. Day after day Elizabeth sat in the Temple School and recorded the "Conversations." The friendship lasted through life for them both; she spoke of Alcott as one who had most influenced her thinking.

Alcott had found a kindred spirit in Robert Owen and in Pestalozzi. Odell Sheperd, Alcott's biographer, writes:

> Actuated at first by the motives of the British reformer, Robert Owen, and then by those of Pestalozzi [Alcott's teaching] had always acknowledged the clear and conscious intent of renovating society by enabling children to recover and retain their divine nature.*

While changing concepts of the nature of childhood education were present in the minds of some educators and while a few attempted to demonstrate these in the classroom, the most consistent, continuous and effective work was done by two outstanding leaders in the history of American education—Horace Mann (1796-1859) and Henry Barnard (1811-1900). It was largely through their efforts that the intelligently laid foundation made possible further developments in education.

Both men in their younger years visited Europe to study the work of Pestalozzi and Froebel; both in the course of their careers were presidents of school boards, Mann in Massachusetts and Barnard in Connecticut; both held many positions of educational leadership, Barnard having been the first Commissioner of Education in the United States and Mann the first President of Antioch College; both were skillful in expressing their ideas in speaking and writing. Important as were their achievements in these functions, their unrivalled contribution lay in perceiving the need for an educational structure consistent with the democratic principle of educational opportunity for all and in gaining acceptance of the ideas for which only the beginning had been made.

Mid-Century United States

THE STAGE REACHED BY AMERICAN EDUCATION IN MID-NINETEENTH century approximated that of other major endeavors in transportation, communication, industry and economy. Far-reaching goals, broad planning, beginning achievements with inevitable conflicts of ideas and interests characterized the American scene.

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* Odell Sheperd, *Pedlar's Progress, The Life of Bronson Alcott* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1937), p. 265.

In transportation, by 1830 railroad lines connected the main inland cities of the East; by 1850 they reached across the Appalachians; and by 1869 the country was linked coast-to-coast by rail. Although Robert Fulton had successfully demonstrated his famous *Clermont* on the Hudson in 1807, steamships for ocean voyages began to supplement the slow and uncertain sailing vessels only in the 1850's and 1860's, and the conquest was not complete until the 1900's.

Progress in communication ran parallel to transportation. In 1856 the first telegraph poles were erected and wires strung by Western Union to take advantage of Morse's 1844 invention; the Trans-Atlantic telegraph cable was successfully operated in 1866; the first telephone exchange was successfully operated in 1878; and the typewriter was not invented until 1868.

By the 1850's the Industrial Revolution was well under way in the United States, and what had been predominantly an agricultural economy was rapidly changing to one markedly industrial. In the meantime agriculture was undergoing transformation as inventions like Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793 and Cyrus McCormick's reaping machine early in 1830 made large-scale farming both possible and profitable. In the 1850's the rich ore deposits bordering the Great Lakes were opened; the predominance of industry was established and a basic conflict of agricultural and industrial interests had begun.

The above developments brought about shifts in population. The agricultural inventions accelerated the movement into the rich prairie lands. The building of the railroads attracted huge numbers of workers from Europe and the Far East. The Gold Rush in the 1840's had added to the movement of people and thousands had flocked to the West. Before long, in the 1870's, the wave of migration from Southern Europe was to begin.

The increase in numbers and heterogeneity of population was truly staggering. In 1789 there were 4,000,000 people of whom one-half million were non-white while three-fourths to nine-tenths of the white population were predominantly British stock with an infusion of Dutch, German and French. In 1850 of the 23,000,000 people, three and a half million were Negro slaves; the non-British white population included Swiss, Finns, Italians, Portuguese, and a sprinkling of Orientals. Attending the increase and shift in population was the growth of cities. In 1789 there were but four cities of any considerable size—New York, Boston, Charleston and Baltimore. By the 1850's to these had been added Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, New Orleans and San Francisco.

As cities grew and immigration mounted prejudices built up against the newcomers, one group and then another, and among the immigrants the gap between generations was markedly wide. Industry brought the amassing of great fortunes. The standard of living in material comforts rose but extremes of poverty made its benefits inaccessible to many. Cheap labor including women and children, the herding of human beings into city slums and the well-meaning but superficial efforts of humanitarian and philanthropic agencies to ameliorate conditions waged their battles of conflicting interests. Inevitably labor and management came into open conflict and strikes have continued to mark the United States' industrial history from the 1830's on.

Over all hung the shadow of war, a shattering war beside which all other conflicts were minor. States were to be lined up against each other; dead and wounded would lie on battlefields; great areas of the land would be devastated; enmities would be sown and the breaches hard to heal.

It was a time of strife; a time in which sharply opposing ideas were debated and fought over; a time when man's inventiveness was at full tide; a time when extremes of riches and poverty stood side by side; a time of expansion of territory and power; a time in which seemingly overwhelming obstacles had to be overcome.

Yet in the midst of all the turmoil there were those who kept their unquenchable faith in education as holding the potential for the solution of human problems for a better way of life. Among them were those who further believed that, to be effective, education must begin in the earliest years. While some men spoke eloquently with feeling for young children, in early childhood education it was women who did the ground-breaking work.

It was not easy, but their zeal carried these early women leaders forward steadily to their goal. Transportation was meager and uncomfortable at best; yet they traveled back and forth in all parts of the country, to Europe and even in some cases to the Far East. With the telegraph, the telephone and the typewriter in their early stages, they managed to communicate with each other: writing long letters, submitting reports, and keeping detailed records of their official proceedings. Even more than the physical difficulties they had to overcome was the traditional attitude toward women that caused most men to look askance at women who attempted to voice convictions and act upon them publicly. And women had little, if any, by way of property rights and no vote.

North, South, East and West these champions of young children traveled, and wherever they went there were always those who heeded their message. Often in spots torn by war or stricken with poverty, groups of little children would be brought together in rooms where they found love, companionship and happy activity. On many of the walls would be found a picture of Froebel inscribed with his words of invitation:

Come, let us live with our children.

And in the hearts of many kindergartners the words with which Froebel followed this call were to bring new fulfillment:

> Then will the life of our children bring us peace and joy, then shall we begin to grow wise, to be wise.[9]

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[9] Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1887), p. 89.

PART I

Froebelian Influences

2

MARGARETHE SCHURZ (1832–1876)

German Influences

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Margarethe Schurz

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MARGARETHE SCHURZ (1832-1876)

German Influences

Watertown, an Educational Shrine

TRAVELING WEST ON WISCONSIN HIGHWAY 26 FROM MILWAUKEE ONE reaches the town of Watertown after about an hour's drive through well-ordered farm land. Nothing mars the neatness of the landscape. Not even a billboard is seen until one approaches the north side entrance to the town. Then a large rectangular sign commands attention with its message in bold, block letters, white against a bright blue background:

WELCOME TO WATERTOWN
HOME OF AMERICA'S
FIRST KINDERGARTEN

Thus Watertown rested its historic claim to uniqueness on being first in what it considered important, significant in its country's culture—the kindergarten. This it placed higher than even the distinction of having had the illustrious statesman, Carl Schurz, choose Watertown as his American home after leaving Germany and bestowed, instead, first honors upon his modest wife, Margarethe Meyer Schurz, the first kindergartner in America.*

Many evidences are noted in Watertown of the affection and esteem in which the residents cherish the memory of Margarethe Schurz. At a corner of a parking lot on North Second and Jones Street is a bronze tablet set in a granite stone with the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
MRS. CARL SCHURZ
(MARGARETHE MEYER SCHURZ)
AUGUST 27, 1833**-MARCH 15, 1876
WHO ESTABLISHED ON THIS SITE
THE FIRST KINDERGARTEN
IN AMERICA, 1856
Dedicated by the
Saturday Club Women
March 2, 1929

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* An earlier attempt was made by Caroline L. Frankenberger, a student of Froebel, to establish a kindergarten in Columbus, Ohio. Feeling that she was unsuccessful she returned to Germany for further study. She made another attempt in 1858 but again the venture did not succeed. The claim of Watertown is generally accepted because the Schurz kindergarten was the impetus to the kindergarten movement in America.

** Hannah Werwath Swart, her biographer (see footnote 1, p. 22) states Mrs. Schurz's birthyear as 1832. The Saturday Club Women's inscription states her birthyear as 1833.

In 1956 the Watertown Historical Society moved the building from the parking lot to the spacious grounds on which the Octagon House, an historic museum, is located. The simple one-story, white-painted little structure now stands on a grassy plot surrounded by trees and shrubbery near the imposing museum. The Society refurbished the interior to reproduce as nearly as possible the single large room as Margarethe Schurz had arranged it.

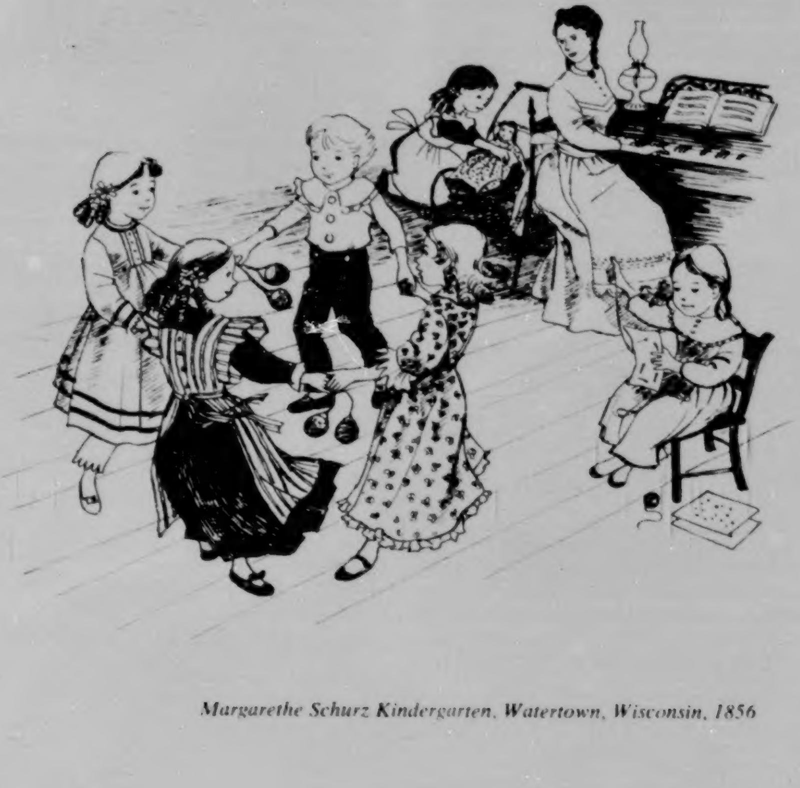
Upon entering one is apt to be startled at the sight of life-size manikins dressed in the mode of more than a century ago. They represent Margarethe Schurz and the six children who were her first kindergarten pupils. The smallest figure is in a wooden cradle apparently asleep. Others are busy with the "Gifts" and the "Occupations," the materials Margarethe had been taught to use when she had studied in her home country, Germany, with the great Friedrich Froebel, the father of kindergarten. His framed picture is on the wall as are illustrative pages from his book, *Mother Play*, with verses and fine line drawings of home and village life. In one corner of the room is Margarethe's spinet and in another, her secretary; a long brown table with its top marked permanently into one-inch squares is in the center of the room; little chairs are scattered about the room and an adult sized rocker adds to the homey atmosphere. In this way the Wisconsin Historical Society has perpetuated the first American kindergarten.

No record has been found of what Margarethe actually did in that room; but from its equipment and from the books written by Froebel and his disciples, it is not difficult to reconstruct the activities. One can picture Margarethe seated with the children around the table displaying the "Gifts," as Froebel named them—soft rubber balls covered with knitted bright-colored worsted; wooden spheres, cubes and cylinders, some whole and some in dissected parts—the children handling them as directed by Margarethe and then playing with them on their own initiative.

We can imagine Margarethe with the older children in their "Occupations"—again named and planned by Froebel—paper cutting, paper weaving; stringing wooden beads; pricking with needles threaded with colored worsted through holes in cardboard outlining the shapes of birds, flowers and other natural objects; laying lentils on the table in geometric forms or shaping them in sand.

We can be sure the big circle painted on the floor was to guide the children in playing singing games to Margarethe's accompaniment at the spinet. Circle games, as well as sitting on the circle for songs, stories and fingerplays were an essential part of Froebel's teaching. Like the sphere of the "Gifts," the circle was ever present in its symbolism, as Froebel saw it: of the unity of God, man and nature, the keystone of the philosophy upon which he developed his plans for teaching children.

Margarethe started the kindergarten with her own children for she was eager that their education should be begun in America as it would have been had they lived in their old German home. As both mother and teacher she must have particularly enjoyed the Mother Play with the children. Froebel planned these songs to bring mother and child closer together. The simplest have to do with the child's own body, his toes, fingers and ears. First, the mother would sing the song and make



Margarethe Schurz Kindergarten, Watertown, Wisconsin, 1856 corresponding movements with the child's body, and then the child would join her in song and play. From these the Mother Play moved outward to the things around the child—the clock, weather vane, grass cutter, pigeons—the words and imitative movements going together. Similarly mother and child sang and played being carpenters, bakers, charcoal burners, wheelwrights. The final group had to do with ethical values, songs like those of the good knight ever ready to help others.

Whether the activities were with the "Gifts," "Occupations" or Mother Play, Margarethe Schurz followed the same general procedures taught by Froebel. First, the teacher demonstrated, then the children imitated, and finally they produced freely on their own. This was the core of Froebel's method as was the unity of God, man and nature, the heart of the philosophy upon which the method was based. Since this unity was so central in Froebel's thinking, the care of plants and animals played a large role in his kindergarten. For as adults were to nurture the Divine in children toward its fulfillment, so children in turn would nurture it in all living things.

Here we have tried to reproduce in imagination what might have happened in the little Margarethe Schurz kindergarten. In 1967 the people of Watertown went beyond imagination by dramatizing their conception of Margarethe Schurz's life and her kindergarten teaching. The occasion was the Spring Conference of the Wisconsin State Association for Childhood Education, and in cooperation with the American Association of University Women, the Watertown Historical Society and the local public schools. A year later the community climaxed its tributes to Margarethe Schurz in publishing her biography.[1]

Impact of German Revolution and Philosophic Idealism

SIMPLE AS WERE THE ACTIVITIES ASCRIBED TO MARGARETHE SCHURZ'S kindergarten, behind them lay the profound thinking of the philosophic mind of Friedrich Froebel. His life span (1782-1852) included the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath in the struggles throughout Europe for freedom from political despotism and the assertion of a fierce nationalism based on ethnic boundaries. In no country was this felt more deeply than in Germany where the fervor for a free and united Germany inspired youth to heights of patriotic sacrifice. Among the intellectuals, patriotism was imbued with a spiritual quality through reaction against the rationalistic philosophy of the preceding century and the ascendancy of the philosophy of absolute idealism taught by Fichte, Schelling and Hegel. Friedrich Froebel was one who related political goals and philosophic principles.

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[1] Hannah Werwath Swart, *Margarethe Meyer Schurz* (Watertown, Wisconsin: The Watertown Historical Society, 1967).

Froebel had sought fulfillment in many fields before turning to education. He found answers to much of his questioning through the study of mathematics and science. Never satisfied with pure theory, he made application of his studies in working in horticulture and crystallography. Out of these varied experiences he reached the conclusion that it was in the education of the young that man would reach his highest destiny.

His belief in the power of education led him to the school of the renowned Swiss educational reformer, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) at Yverdon. Here he studied and taught along with a number of other liberal young people who had come to Pestalozzi for him to show them a way to teach consistent with their ideals of freedom.

Close contact with nature, performing the simple tasks of home and community, vocational training, experimenting with better ways of teaching the usual school subjects, and living together in mutual respect and affection were salient features in Pestalozzi's program. Froebel's experience at Yverdon spurred him on to establish his own school. Although he was in agreement with much of Pestalozzi's teaching, he had something all his own that he wished to embody in practice.

At the age of thirty-five, he began in 1817 what was to be his life work, the first step in his educational career, in his Educational Institute in the little village of Keilhau, Germany. He was to spend the next fourteen years, the prime of his life, in translating his philosophy into the educational program of his Institute at Keilhau. At its height there were sixty pupils ranging in age from five to the late teens, and in program ranging all the way from the learning-through-play activities of the young children to the reading of Horace, Plato, Phaedrus and Demosthenes in the original by the most advanced students.[2] The many visitors—officials, teachers and laymen—were loud in their praise of the orderliness, happiness and zest for learning they found in the school.

After nine years, Froebel felt that his experience at Keilhau had convinced him of the soundness of his thinking and its application to teaching. The result was his masterly *Education of Man*, divided into two parts, the first stating in detail his philosophy and the second its application to teaching.

It is impossible to summarize briefly the intricate ramifications of Froebel's philosophic thinking, but since the first two of the fifty-nine propositions in the first part of the book hold the key to the basis of kindergarten practice well into the twentieth century excerpts from them are stated here:

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[2] W. N. Hailmann, Translator's Preface to Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1897), adapted from pp. xi-xx.

> 1. In all things there lives and reigns an eternal law . . . this law has been and is enounced with equal clearness and distinctness in nature (the external), in the spirit (the internal), and in life which unites the two. This all-controlling law is necessarily based on an all-pervading, energetic, living, self-conscious, and hence eternal Unity. . . . This Unity is God. All things have come from the Divine Unity, from God, and have their origin in the Divine Unity, in God alone. . . . All things live and have their being in and through the Divine Unity, in and through God. . . .
>
> 2. It is the destiny and life-work of all things to unfold their essence, hence their divine being and, therefore, the Divine Unity itself—to reveal God in their external and transient being . . .
>
>   Education consists in leading man, as a thinking, intelligent being, growing into self-consciousness, to a pure and unsullied, conscious and free representation of the inner law of Divine Unity, and in teaching him ways and means thereto. . . .[3]

In the years ahead there would be many different interpretations of Froebel's philosophy. Some would accept it but reject his methodology and materials. Others would rigidly insist on following his methodology and use of his materials with little understanding of the philosophy underlying the practice. The time would come, too, when the idealism of Froebel would be eclipsed by the standardization and mechanization of another period.

But even these years of Froebel's joyous teaching and learning at Keilhau were beset with difficulties as the conflicts between authoritarian and liberal forces of the day increased. The Prussian government under Frederick William III became alarmed at the influence of Froebel and his school. All manner of restrictions and restraints were inflicted upon him until finally in 1831 Froebel, as the leader, was forced from his post.

In this period of his life Froebel, like so many of his compatriots, looked longingly to America as a land where his aims for a better life might be realized. In an essay, "The Renewal of Life," he pointed to the United States of America "as the country best fitted, by virtue of its spirit of freedom, true Christianity, and pure family life, to receive his educational message and to profit thereby." [4]

At Keilhau Froebel had worked with children and youth of all ages. The experience brought him the conviction that the earliest years of life were the most important and the quality of education of these years was dependent upon the success of later educational experiences. The rest of his life was to be devoted to those early years of childhood. In 1837 he established at Blankenburg the first kindergarten. Here, as at Keilhau, he spent fourteen productive years. Many students came to study his philosophy and methods in the education of young children and then went off to start kindergartens of their own. During these years he put his ideas in writing, among his most important contributions being his *Foundations of Development* and *Mother Play*. Once again, the forces of authoritarianism prevailed and by government edict all Prussian kindergartens were closed. Again, as after Keilhau, he turned toward America and began planning for the transference of his kindergartens where he felt a new life was freely unfolding itself and a new education of man would find a footing. A year later he died, without seeing his faith so abundantly justified through the message carried by his student, Margarethe Meyer Schurz, and by his other German students.

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[3] *Ibid.*, Froebel, *The Education of Man*, pp. 1, 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, Hailmann's Preface, p. xx.

From Hamburg to England

MARGARETHE, HER OLDER SISTER BERTHE, AND HER OLDER BROTHER Adolf were the children of Heinrich Christian Meyer, a liberal wealthy manufacturer living in Hamburg. The Meyer home was the gathering place for the liberal thinkers of the city. Among them was Johannes Ronge whom Berthe Meyer was later to marry.

To the Meyers and their friends the name of Froebel was linked with the German struggle for freedom. They saw Froebel's educational efforts with children, as he himself did, as a means of freeing the spirit of man. Through Berthe's efforts a group of young German women invited Froebel to Hamburg in 1848 to give a course on the kindergarten.

All three young Meyers took the course. Margarethe made detailed notes which she later sent to Froebel. He evaluated these notes as the best that had ever been taken of his lectures. Unfortunately they were lost in the mail when he was returning them to Margarethe.

The failure of the Revolution of 1848 forced many of the young patriots into exile, quite a few of them to England. Among them was Johannes Ronge. He and Berthe had been in love with each other, and she, too, left for England where the two married. Armed with the course taken with Froebel, she established her "Infant Garden" in Hampstead. It became immediately popular with the wealthy and intellectual groups in the England of the day and laid the foundation for early childhood education in England for years to come.

Carl Schurz, too, had to flee from Germany in 1848. Born in 1829, he entered the University of Bonn at the age of seventeen. He was welcomed into the Burschenschaft Franconia, one of the most effective youth organizations that had developed and flourished in the universities since 1813. Carl's zeal for freedom and for a united Germany was fanned by the high spirits and courage of his companions, while a more profound interpretation of events was given him by the poet-philosopher-professor, Gottfried Kinkel. The youth of eighteen and the mature teacher became companions and lifelong friends. Schurz's escape through a sewer from his imprisonment at Restatt and his later daring rescue of Kinkel from a sentence of life imprisonment are but two of many incidents of their courage and passionate devotion to their cause. In danger of his life after the Revolution, Carl Schurz first found refuge in Paris, then in Switzerland, and in 1851 on the comparatively safe shores of England.

Carl Schurz and Johannes Ronge had been fellow revolutionaries and when Carl reached England he sought out his friend in Hampstead. Margarethe had joined her sister Berthe to help her in the "Infant Garden." It was here that Carl and Margarethe met.

As Carl was about to leave the Ronge home, Johannes bade him stay a bit longer and called out to Margarethe in an adjacent room to come and meet a gentleman with whom he wished her to become acquainted. Then something happened that in Carl's words in his *Reminiscences* "infused into my apparently gloomy situation a radiance of sunshine and opened to my life unlooked-for prospects." He goes on to describe Margarethe: "A girl of about eighteen years entered, of fine stature, a curly head, something childlike in her beautiful features and large, dark, truthful eyes. This was my introduction to my future wife."[5] Existing photographs of Margarethe show that Carl's description was no lover's fantasy. He was right, too, about her age. She *was* just eighteen and he was twenty-two.

It was but a few months after they met that Carl and Margarethe were married on July 6, 1852, in the parish church of Marleybone, England. Throughout the *Reminiscences* one feels a respectful reticence toward Margarethe. He says little about their personal relations, reserving them as he said at one time to their inner home circle.

Soon after their marriage in August they sailed for America. Carl Schurz closes Volume I of the *Reminiscences* in words that reflect his high spirit in those days: "My young wife and myself sailed from Portsmouth in August 1852, and landed in the harbor of New York on a bright September morning. With the buoyant hopefulness of young hearts, we saluted the New World!"[6]

In the New World

MOST OF THE REFUGEES REGARDED THEIR EXILE AS TEMPORARY. EVEN the failure of the Revolution with the betrayal of Frederick William IV in his refusal to assume leadership of a united Germany did not kill their ardor. But when news came on December 2, 1851, that Louis Napoleon, President of the fourth French Republic, with the support of the army, had occupied the National Assembly, and when two days later after bloody street fighting the army was in control, the downfall of the Republic was realized as certain. This was a crushing blow to the refugees, for as long as freedom in France continued they felt that it would again, as in 1789, 1830 and 1848, spread through the rest of Europe.

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[5] Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences*, Vol. I (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1917), p. 401.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 405.

The news of the Louis Napoleon coup d'etat came to Carl Schurz shortly after his fateful meeting with Margarethe. His decision was quickly made: he would go to America. There is a long passage in his *Reminiscences* describing his thinking and feeling leading to the decision. It closes with the following:

> . . . . The Fatherland was closed to me. England was to me a foreign country and would always remain so. Where then? "To America!" I said to myself. The ideals for which I had dreamed and for which I have fought I will find there, if not fully realized but hopefully struggling for full realization. In that struggle I shall perhaps be able to take some part. It is a new world, a real world, a world of great ideas and aims. In that world is for me, perhaps a new home. "Ubi libertas ubi patria". . .[7]

When Margarethe and Carl Schurz set forth to find a new life in America they were young, attractive, in love, and united in common beliefs and ideals. They shared a profound respect for human personality, a passion for freedom, and a mature interpretation of democracy as a process toward an ideal, not as a Utopia. No doubt they needed the last, particularly in their first hard years. Carl expressed something of this in a comment he made on the shock it must be to one living in a world of theories and imaginings to see democracy at work until he realizes that "this is not an ideal state but simply a state in which the forces of good have a free field against the forces of evil." [8]

After two years in the East, where no doubt these young people had plenty of "shock" as they lived among the extremes of poverty and wealth in New York and other big cities and, worst of all, the greed and self-seeking of politicians rampant in the 1850's, they decided that with their little daughter, Agathe, they would move westward. They decided on Watertown, where a number of their German friends had already settled.

While Margarethe found expression of her ideals for a good life in her Watertown home and kindergarten, Carl was soon drawn into the whirl of events and was frequently away from home. He threw himself into the Abolitionist cause and made many speeches with impassioned pleas for the freedom of the slaves. In his letters to Margarethe he writes with the frankness of one who dares to reveal even his vanities to one of whose understanding he is sure. On one of his speaking tours in 1859, he wrote from Boston, "My reception at Fanueil Hall was magnificent. . . . I spoke like a god, and today I cannot get away from the praises of my speech." [9]

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 400.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 16.

Margarethe was far more than the proverbial German *hausfrau*. Not only did she share in her husband's thoughts and feelings but she frequently accompanied him on his trips, took notes on his speeches and activities which became the material for much of his *Reminiscences*, and was the true companion in the many crises he faced in his public life.

While he was serving in the army during the Civil War, Margarethe visited him in camp at Middleton, Virginia. She told friends later that "she had spent six beautiful days with Carl" and exclaimed, "Oh, he has an innocent child's face when he truly rejoices." On this occasion Carl entrusted her with a letter to give to Lincoln on her way home. Carl Schurz was one of Lincoln's closest confidants and Margarethe, too, had won his confidence. Once when Carl was discussing an important question with Lincoln, Mr. Lincoln said to Mr. Schurz, "Have you talked the matter over with that handsome, dear wife of yours? If she agrees, then I do." [10]

A sad period in the life of the Schurzes followed the war. In 1866 Margarethe's patrimony was exhausted, the mortgage on the Watertown home was foreclosed, and Carl stepped out of public life to earn a living. He secured newspaper work, first on *The New York Tribune* and then on *The Post Dispatch* in St. Louis. In the midst of the financial difficulties was illness, and the youngest daughter died. Prostrated with grief Margarethe with the remaining two children went to her Hamburg home in June 1867. Carl joined her in December and they spent a month together in Berlin.

Returning to the United States, they settled in Missouri. Soon Carl was lured from his newspaper work and was again in the midst of a political career. As in their early married life, Carl still found pleasure in confiding his pride in his achievements to Margarethe. On being elected to the Senate he wrote to her, "I believe I can tell you without exaggeration that I am today the most powerful man in Missouri." [11]

Carl Schurz had the help of his wife, her companionship and understanding for a decade following his election to the Senate. The blow fell when on March 15, 1876, Margarethe died giving birth to a son. She was only forty-three.

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[9] Joseph Schafer, translator and editor, *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz* (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928), p. 191.
[10] *Op. cit.*, Schurz, Vol. II, p. 330.
[11] *Op. cit.*, Schafer, translator and editor, p. 466.

3

ELIZABETH PALMER PEABODY
(1804–1894)
Promoting the Kindergarten

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Elizabeth Palmer Peabody

3

ELIZABETH PALMER PEABODY (1804-1894)

Promoting the Kindergarten

A Fateful Meeting

IT WAS ON ONE OF THE POLITICAL TRIPS MARGARETHE SCHURZ SHARED with her husband that she met Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. It was a meeting of consequence, for out of it grew the American kindergarten and a revolutionary change in attitude toward children.

The meeting took place in 1859 at a social gathering in Boston to which Mrs. Schurz brought her young daughter, Agathe. Ruth M. Baylor tells of the incident as Elizabeth Peabody had narrated it in a journal article.[1]

> It was her (Agathe's) remarkable behavior that so impressed Elizabeth Peabody that she remarked to Mrs. Schurz, "That little child of yours is a miracle, so childlike and unconscious, and yet so wise and able, attracting and ruling the children, who seem nothing short of enchanted."
>
> Said Mrs. Schurz, "No miracle, but only brought up in a kindergarten."
>
> "A kindergarten?" asked Miss Peabody. "What is that?"
>
> "A garden whose plants are human. Did you never hear of Froebel?" asked Mrs. Schurz.
>
> "No; who is he?"[2]

Margarethe told Elizabeth about Froebel and later sent her his book, *The Education of Man*. Elizabeth was fascinated with Margarethe's story and her reading.

Elizabeth Peabody was fifty-five when she first heard of kindergartens, the same age as Froebel when he established his kindergarten at Blankenburg, Germany. The circumstances of her life until then made her peculiarly ready for the task she had now set herself and sympathetically receptive to the teaching of Froebel. She was determined that American children should have kindergartens. For Elizabeth Peabody to decide was to act; it had been so throughout her life; there would be kindergartens for American children—and soon.

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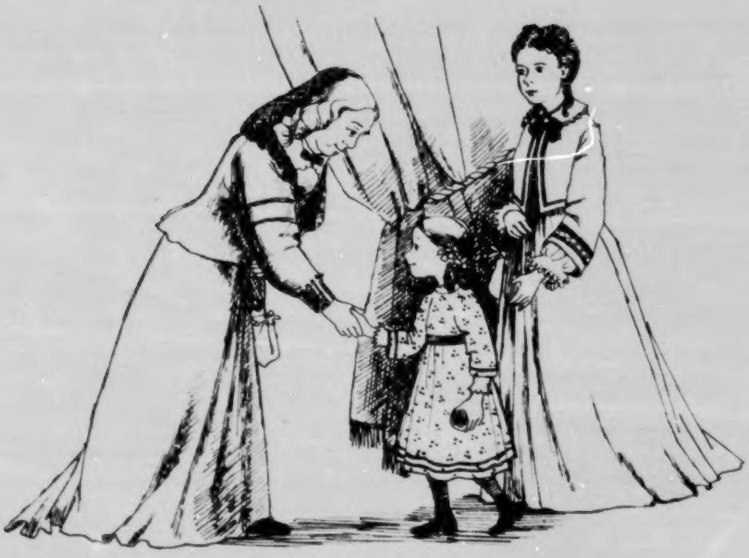
[1] Elizabeth Peabody, "Origin and Growth of the Kindergarten," *Education*, Vol. II No. 5, May 1882, p. 523.

[2] Ruth M. Baylor, *Elizabeth Peabody Kindergarten Pioneer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), p. 36.



Elizabeth Peabody meets Agathe Schurz.

Teaching, a Passionate Pursuit

ELIZABETH PALMER PEABODY WAS BORN IN BALLERIC, MASSACHUSETTS, on May 16, 1804. She grew up in an atmosphere of education for her mother, Elizabeth Palmer, had been the first preceptress of Franklin Academy and her father at the time of her birth was a teacher at Phillips Andover Academy. These circumstances of her birth, Elizabeth Peabody is quoted as saying, ". . . made education the passionate pursuit of my life, being prenatally educated for the profession. . . ."[3]

Both Mr. and Mrs. Peabody came of a long line of colonial ancestry. Mrs. Peabody was very proud of her family background, particularly of the patriotic services of her father, General Palmer, in the Revolutionary War. As the six Peabody children listened to stories their mother told them of ancestral grandeur and heroism, gentle Nathaniel Peabody would smilingly remind them that the Peabodys, once the Paybodies, could trace their origin to the year sixty-one when the ancient Britons were vassals to Nero, to Boadie, a kinsman of Queen Boadicea, and that the Peabody coat of arms bearing the motto, "A sound conscience is a wall of brass," had been assured them by King Arthur! [1]

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Mrs. Peabody was ambitious for her husband. She wanted him to be a physician and it was toward this goal that she continued teaching for fifteen years. At first, it was necessary to support the family during the time needed for the meager preparation then required for a doctor and later, after the coveted title was won, to supplement his small earnings. Meanwhile, Dr. Peabody had become interested in dentistry and would much rather have spent his time experimenting with dentures.

Mrs. Peabody taught, not because teaching was one of the few "genteel" ways a "lady" could accept any remuneration for her labors, but because she had a genuine love of learning and all things pertaining to education. All of her children were born during these fifteen years—Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia, Nathaniel, George, Wellington, and a little girl who died in infancy. It was in their mother's school in Salem that the three Peabody sisters had all of their formal schooling with lessons in Latin and Greek taught by their father.

Here Elizabeth passed her early years in an atmosphere of scholarship created by both her mother and father; of pride as the mother managed to maintain respectability, gentility and delicacy regardless of perpetually limited finances; and, pervading all, of gentle forbearance and whimsical humor of the father as he found himself outwilled by his wife in family decisions.

Elizabeth began her teaching career at sixteen in her mother's school in Salem and at eighteen she determined to establish herself independently in teaching. During the next fifteen years she made three different attempts at developing a school of her own in Boston, and one in cooperation with Bronson Alcott in his famous Temple School. The first three efforts had to be abandoned because of financial problems and the fourth because Elizabeth found herself in professional disagreement with Alcott.

They were difficult years for Elizabeth but rich in experience and learning and in the formation of stimulating and enduring friendships. With her deep affection for family and her ambition, she not only made herself responsible to help them financially but entered understandingly into their lives and involved them in her own activities. One of the secrets of her greatness was that she was able to do this without sacrificing her own "passionate pursuit" of learning and her concern for the fate of humanity.

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[1] Louise Hall Tharp, *The Peabody Sisters of Salem* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1950), p. 19.

Her first effort at establishing a school was brief. It not only failed to support her brother at Harvard, one of Elizabeth's reasons for the attempt, but it did not pay enough to make even the barest living possible for Elizabeth. Realizing that, after all, it did take money to run a school, Elizabeth gave up her dream temporarily and accepted a position as governess in the home of Benjamin Vaughn in Hallowell, Maine. But this first Boston experience was to mean much to Elizabeth, for it brought her one of the great friendships of her life. Her study of Latin and Greek with her father had made her hungry for more. She found a teacher of Greek—no less a person than Ralph Waldo Emerson.

In her position as governess in the home of Benjamin Vaughn, Elizabeth found a combination of the intellectual interests to which she had been accustomed and the luxurious living which she had known only through her mother's tales of past family glories. In her spare time she seized avidly on the riches of the 12,000-book library—Harvard then had 10,000—and studied Hebrew with the local minister.

Meantime at home her sisters were growing restless. Mary, too, wanted to try her wings in the wider world and Sophia, who suffered from frequent headaches, was becoming increasingly irked by her mother's insistence on making an invalid of her. Elizabeth came to the rescue. An opportunity as governess existed in the home of a neighbor of the Vaughns, Robert Hallowell Gardner; so Elizabeth arranged for Mary to have her position at the Vaughns and she moved over to the Gardners. Elizabeth would have brought Sophia along, but when Sophia demurred Elizabeth provided her instead with the painting lessons she wanted.

There is a hint of the one self-acknowledged romance in Elizabeth's life while at the Gardners. Some one to whom she refers as L. B. proposed marriage to her and when she refused she wrote in her diary, "He found his way, in such a horrid way, out of this world." Elizabeth was just twenty-one at the time but it seems that she never completely rid herself of a sense of guilt over this tragedy.[5]

Elizabeth had not relinquished her dream of laying siege to Boston. With characteristic ability to move people and events to her liking, she made a second attempt, this time taking Mary with her to Boston. There together they set up a girls' school in a fashionable neighborhood on Beacon Hill. Soon Elizabeth had the whole family established in Boston. This second Boston experience, like the first, brought a great and lasting friendship into her life when she met Dr. William Ellery Channing, the inspiring Unitarian leader. He became friend, confidant and spiritual adviser to Elizabeth. In return, she painstakingly took down his sermons and—the typewriter had not yet been invented—transcribed them in longhand. This self-appointed task was done in admiration and devotion for a revered personality. Emerson had started her thinking along the lines of the transcendental philosophy toward which he was groping and in Channing she found the same general trend of thought. The nature of this was well interpreted by Dr. Channing's nephew William Henry Channing:

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

> Transcendentalism, as viewed by its disciples, was a pilgrimage from the idolatrous world of creeds and rituals to the temple of the living God in the soul. . . . Amidst materialism, zealots, and sceptics, the Transcendentalists believed in perpetual inspiration, the miraculous power of the will, and a birthright to the universal good.[6]

Elizabeth Peabody recognized how much her early introduction to Transcendentalism had predisposed her toward Froebel's teaching and this is shown in lines she wrote in 1875 looking back fifty years:

> I am struck with the fact that, sure enough, we were dwelling then in the dawning light of those truths which make up the character-forming portion of Froebel's system—truths which both Dr. Channing and F. Froebel made use of, like Jesus Christ, to counteract the despair inherited from the old Pagan doctrine lurking in Judaism, and in the Orthodoxy of this day, of *naked sovereignty* as the essence of God. They both affirmed that the true human life is a constant growth. . . .[7]

In the beginning days the school prospered; and Elizabeth took advantage of this by sparing no expense in providing Sophia with the best art teachers available (among them another Transcendentalist who was also to become a lifelong friend, the celebrated artist Washington Allston) and Mary, who had a sweet voice, with singing lessons thus fulfilling a cherished dream. Unfortunately, this comfortable condition, unusual in the Peabody family, was not to last. Elizabeth, thinking to add to the prestige of the school by having a man's name connected with it, had engaged William Russell as a partner. Suddenly the Peabody sisters found that, through his extravagance, what had been a going concern was hopelessly in debt. The family moved back to Salem.

Back home, Sophia busied herself with her painting by copying masterpieces, then the vogue in an America still looking to Europe for its standards in art. But Elizabeth was soon back in Boston and Mary with her. Dr. Channing helped them recruit pupils for still another school, his own daughter included. They set up school in one room in the boarding house in which they lived. This was fateful in the lives of both sisters, for Mr. Horace Mann was one of the boarders. He had recently lost his young wife after a brief but happy two years. The two sisters were attracted to him. Elizabeth saw him as a tragic figure whom she would console by sharing in his educational interests. With Mary it was nothing so complex. She simply fell in love with Horace with all her being, a love to last the rest of her life. While Horace seemed not too receptive of Elizabeth's solicitude, she was a sounding board for his ideas of educational reform essential to the life of our young democracy; Elizabeth gained from him that insight into the social significance of education which was to become so powerful a stimulus to her later educational efforts.

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[6] *Op. cit.*, Baylor, p. 123.
[7] *Op. cit.*, Baylor, p. 54.

Intent on her family's welfare Elizabeth conceived a new idea for relieving the family's continuing financial difficulties. She would write a book on Greek Mythology and Theology and Sophia would illustrate it with lithographs. Elizabeth wrote the book and Sophia struggled valiantly with lithography about which she knew nothing. It was a heartbreaking experience for Sophia and her violent headaches returned.

Undaunted, Elizabeth met the problem by deciding that Sophia needed to go away for her health. Elizabeth arranged to have Sophia go to Cuba through Mrs. Cleveland, a friend whose husband was vice-consul to Cuba. But Sophia was too delicate to go alone, so Elizabeth secured a teaching position for Mary in Cuba and thus Sophia would be taken care of.

It all worked out as Elizabeth had planned. Sophia blossomed under the experience and found the gayety of Cuba a natural habitat for her fun-loving nature. Gone were the headaches. But Mary pined for Horace. She had so hoped that he would come to see her off on the sailing vessel. But he had not. Nor did Elizabeth's letters help as she told of the soul-searching conversations, and even the tender passages, she was having with Horace. Finally Mary could take no more and asked Elizabeth in a letter just what the situation was. Elizabeth vowed in the language of the day that her feeling for Horace was purely platonic and assured Mary of the truth of it. Eventually, it all ended happily, though years of doubt and misgivings on Mary's part intervened before she and Horace married.

While Mary and Sophia were in Cuba, Elizabeth struggled on. The disastrous years preceding the Panic of 1837 were lean years in Boston and the Peabody family, never affluent, felt their pinch. Elizabeth and Mary had to give up their school and Elizabeth lived with the Rices, her friends in Boston, receiving room and board in return for tutoring the children. Elizabeth steadily wrote and, while some of her historical materials and articles such as "Social Crime and Retribution," "The

Being of God," and "The Character of Moses" were published, there was little financial return for any of it. Lecturing was another activity Elizabeth engaged in during this difficult decade. She was a pioneer as in many ventures, being credited as the first woman public lecturer at a time when it was unheard of for a woman to appear on the platform. Even the intrepid Elizabeth did not venture thus far. Her lectures were given in the parlors of ladies and were known as "Reading Parties." She lectured largely on historic topics, a field she always loved. But she had been deeply stirred by accounts of the sufferings of the poor during the Industrial Revolution in England and she was determined that the Lowell Mills, just started, should not repeat the pattern in New England. Therefore, she seized the opportunity of the lectures to so stir the hearts of the ladies in her audience—some of the Lowell family and wives and daughters of bankers, industrialists and railroad managers—that industry in the United States should not bear a similar stigma. She was rewarded when a few years later Charles Dickens commended the Lowell Mills as models of good labor relations.*

However absorbing as Elizabeth's activities might be, her yen for teaching was unquenchable. For the fourth time, she decided to open a school of her own and secured the promise of a few pupils. A meeting with Bronson Alcott, another Transcendentalist, who was to become a profound influence in Elizabeth's life, changed her purpose. Alcott was about to start a school and Elizabeth agreed to turn her promised pupils over to him and teach in his school.

Elizabeth's experience in Alcott's Temple School, although lasting only two years, made a deep impression upon her: his transcendental thinking at once made a bond between the two. His educational ideas, likewise, had their appeal for one who appreciated the novel and was willing to depart from tradition. He had developed what he called his "conversational method," seeking by questioning to lead children from thought to thought with freedom to express their own ideas. Elizabeth observed his teaching and was intrigued by it. She saw the importance of preserving these conversations as nearly verbatim as possible. Again, as she had for Dr. Channing, she set herself the task of recording. Faithfully she took down the conversations Alcott had with the children. She had agreed to teach for two hours daily; but with her usual generosity and willingness to give herself to any cause she deemed worthy, she made a full-time job of it. Instead of cash payment, she accepted room and board in the Alcott home.

Elizabeth was in accord with Alcott in his belief in the innate goodness of children, in his unmaterialistic approach to life, and in the self-realization he aimed to develop in his pupils. But she differed from him in the introspective probing to which he subjected children. This became an issue which finally determined Elizabeth to leave Temple School. However, it did not interfere with her respect and friendship for Alcott. Later she commented on how much healthier she considered the more objective approach of Froebel to children. Alcott's devotion to his method finally led to trouble for both himself and Elizabeth. In his "Conversations on the Gospel," the birth of Christ led to discussions of human reproduction, a topic so far removed from what was considered acceptable material for children, that even some of the most advanced Boston thinkers were shocked. When Horace Mann read the prospectus of *The Record of a School*, Elizabeth's report of the "Conversations," he urged her to refrain from discussing "the process of nature and the parts of the anatomy."[9] Although Elizabeth disavowed any authorship of the ideas expressed in the book and that she had simply acted as a recorder of what had been said, she bore with Alcott the full opprobrium of a prudish generation. She denied, however, that this incident was the cause of her withdrawal from the school.

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* *Op. cit.*, Tharp, pp. 88, 90.

Disappointing as was her failure to find in the Temple School the educational opportunity she sought, this period in Elizabeth's life was probably the most formative one in the maturing of her thinking. For it was then, in 1836, that Emerson gathered together a few choice souls to meet in his home to discuss philosophy. Elizabeth Peabody and Margaret Fuller, the "high priestess" of philosophy of her day, were included. This was testimony of the radical nature of the Club, for this was a time when few would admit that any woman had anything to contribute to a philosophic discussion. Here Elizabeth met in a group the three men who had contributed individually most to her thinking: Emerson, Channing and Alcott. To these were added other master minds: George Ripley, who was to become the leader of the Brook Farm Experiment; Frederick Henry Hedge, educated in Germany and master of German philosophy; Covers Francis; James Freeman Clark; John S. Dwight; and Theodore Parker. Out of these meetings came the crystallization of Transcendentalist thinking: *Dial*, the famous magazine of lofty thought in essay and poetry, and the Brook Farm Experiment.[10]

With little hope of establishing a school in Boston, Elizabeth returned home to Salem. Here she busied herself with family affairs, encouraging Sophia in her art work, and sustaining the family when two of her brothers, George and Wellington, died. George had just become established in a successful business career when he was seized with a fatal illness and returned home to Salem, where he died of an affliction of the spine. Wellington, as a doctor's helper, had died of yellow fever while courageously working among the sick in the epidemic-stricken New Orleans.

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[9] *Op. cit.*, Baylor, p. 123.

[10] *Op. cit.*, Tharp, p. 139.

The Hawthornes and the Peabodys had been neighbors during Elizabeth's childhood in Salem. When she returned home Elizabeth set out to renew acquaintance with the Hawthornes. This was no easy task, for Mrs. Hawthorne had kept herself and her family in complete seclusion. But Elizabeth to some extent broke through the barriers Mrs. Hawthorne had erected. Nathaniel Hawthorne had started on his writing career and Elizabeth, with her keen literary appreciation, recognized his genius for its true worth. Gradually she drew him out of his shell, even to the point where he became a frequent visitor at the Peabodys'. There he met Sophia. Just as Horace Mann had [illegible]nd companionship with Elizabeth but loved Mary, now Hawthorne discussed literature with Elizabeth but loved Sophia.

The Book Store

ELIZABETH COULD NOT LONG BE CONTENT WITHOUT A DEMANDING PROJECT of her own. Soon she was launched on what was probably the most delightfully original and charming project of her life—the Book Store on West Street. Business, except for little candy or notion stores kept by dear old ladies, was a man's world. Why should it be? Elizabeth wanted to know. She would prove the contrary. And it should be in the field of her great love—books. But it should be no ordinary book shop. It should be a rendezvous for lovers of books, where they could meet to talk about books and to enjoy each other's company. Of course, only good books would be sold and it must be in a neighborhood where people loved books.

Again, Elizabeth managed and carried her family with her. A suitable old residence was found in Boston at Number 13 West Street. With Dr. Channing's financial assistance, the shop opened on the last day of July 1840. The parlor, the front room, was the book shop. The walls were covered with book shelves. Not only were the best publications in the United States on the shelves but there were also French novels—Elizabeth knew they were not all immoral—and German scientific works—Elizabeth knew they were not all ungodly. Besides books, there were foreign as well as American magazines—Blackwood's *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Sophia was assigned a room as a studio, and her paintings and sculpture were added to the shop with art materials for sale. Brother Nathaniel was given a shelf for his homeopathic medicines—he had become a pharmacist—and the fragrance of belladonna, aconite, sassafrass, horehound mingled with that of paper, leather and print. Dr. Peabody, though he had begun to build up a fairly good practice in medicine and dentistry in Salem, found himself, probably reluctantly but uncomplainingly, also at 13 West Street with an office of his own. Over the whole Mrs. Peabody presided in a rocker near the window, combining trips to the rest of the house to oversee the cooking and the cleaning with chats with customers as she sold her wares.[11] Only Mary, though living at the West Street home, played no direct role in the Book Shop. She continued teaching and sharing with Horace Mann his work in building a truly democratic education in America.

Elizabeth's dream was realized as the Book Shop became the gathering place of the great minds she had met at Emerson's home and others of similar interests. The lectures such as Elizabeth had been giving had become a popular pastime of the women's clubs of Boston. Taking advantage of the trend, Elizabeth started her Wednesday afternoon "Conversations." Margaret Fuller with her exotic personality and brilliant mind was a popular figure, and Elizabeth engaged her as the lecturer for the Wednesday afternoon "Conversations." At the close of the sessions, Mrs. Peabody moved among the group displaying, and sometimes selling, the books to which Miss Fuller had referred. These were happy days.

Elizabeth's vision continued to broaden. Selling books—good, but why not publish them too? She consulted her friend, Dr. Channing; and he offered her a pamphlet for publication—*Emancipation*, which he had just written. Just as freedom for women was in the air at this time, so was freedom from slavery. There were no more ardent supporters for the cause than the little band of Boston Transcendentalists. Dr. Channing, aware of Elizabeth's selflessness, stipulated that any profits from the sales of the pamphlets were to be hers. We can imagine his consternation when he learned that she had turned over the copies for distribution to the Abolitionists, with no financial return to her. Other publications followed. She took over the *Dial* but, since she could not make it pay, Emerson settled the indebtedness and took charge. Hawthorne gave her some of his early manuscripts for publication and, while this was gratifying, he was not yet sufficiently well known for the sales to bring a profit.

The unique mingling of family and professional pursuits was delightfully exemplified at the Book Store. In July 1842 Sophia Peabody and Nathaniel Hawthorne were married there and went off to build their home in Concord. On May Day, 1843, Mary Peabody and Horace Mann were married and set off for Europe in a sailing vessel to study education.

As in Elizabeth's teaching ventures, financial problems now beset her at 13 West Street. The Mexican War and the Florida War took their tolls.

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[11] *Op. cit.*, Tharp, p. 135.

Elizabeth felt that both were stains on the proud history of her country, for she felt both were playing into the hands of those who would perpetuate slavery. Sales fell off in the Book Store. To defray expenses Mrs. Peabody rented rooms, but guests frequently forgot to pay. Sadness, too, came to the Book Store when death entered the little circle of close friends. Dr. Channing, Washington Allston and Margaret Fuller died between 1842 and 1849.

Through it all Elizabeth never lost sight of her family responsibilities. She found a position as a teacher; she devised historic charts and peddled them among schools in New England. She saw that her mother and father were getting old and unable to bear the strain of their uncertain lives much longer. So in November 1850 she sadly closed the shop for the last time and settled her parents on a small farm in Newton, Massachusetts, where she hoped they would enjoy their favorite pastime of gardening. But it was not for long. Her mother died in 1853 and her father a few years later.

The First English-Speaking American Kindergarten

SUCH WAS THE BACKGROUND ELIZABETH PEABODY BROUGHT TO THE meeting in 1859 with Margarethe Schurz and her daughter, Agathe. The passion for education stimulated by her parents; the love of learning that led her to explore the world of literature in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian and German, and made her an ardent student of philosophy and history; her absorption in Transcendentalism predisposing her to the absolute idealism of Froebel's underlying philosophy; her close, friendly contacts with some of the greatest thinkers of her day; the discipline of ordered intellectual effort through her lecturing, writing and publishing—all were blended in a character of loyalty to family, friends, with principles and courage to act upon her convictions. Rarely has any life brought such richness of illuminating experiences to the teaching of children.

Characteristically Elizabeth Peabody lost no time between the moment she was convinced that American children should have kindergartens and the day on which she opened one. As a result, credit belongs to Elizabeth Peabody for the first English-speaking American kindergarten started in 1860 at 15 Pinckney Street, Boston. Mary Mann joined Elizabeth in this new venture for she had recently returned home after the death of her husband.

In 1861 there were thirty children in the Peabody kindergarten. Judging from the prospectus of the little school, the children were going to *learn* while Elizabeth was simultaneously committed to Froebel's principle of play. Besides two assistants, a French teacher conversed with all the children "who could sit still for twenty minutes" and a special teacher taught gymnastics. All the children learned to draw and write and half learned to read by the end of the term. Since she based her program on Froebel's *Education of Man*, there must have been the Mother Play, the "Gifts" and "Occupations." There were plants and animals too, we know, because after the first year Elizabeth Peabody moved the kindergarten temporarily away from Pinckney Street for she found that "accommodations for growing plants or keeping animals" required larger quarters.[12] Thus the first American kindergarten, as happens in all schools, took on modifications reflecting the personality of its founder.

No doubt a kindergarten staffed as this one needed abundant funds. In order to develop wide interest in the kindergarten, Elizabeth Peabody mailed a circular describing her kindergarten to a large number of professional workers and her famous and influential acquaintances. Included in it was the following plea:

> If I can advance my price twenty-five per cent, I can do all I wish, and have something for my own labor, *which is life-absorbing*. I will therefore resume the Kindergarten on the 22nd of September, 1862, for forty weeks to July 4 exclusive of half a week at Christmas and Thanksgiving times, if I can be paid fifty dollars a year for each pupil, in advance as I call for it.[13]

Apparently the plea was successful for the school opened again and continued for many years.

There were varying replies to her circular. Typical of the traditional concept of education not all were favorable, as illustrated by the following:

> I think children must learn soon that play is not the end of life, but that nothing really worth having is got without work, and little by little they will learn to take their share, and I don't think it hurts them. . . . What I mean to say is, that the kindergarten plan as long as it lasts is *play*, it puts off the time of *work*. This must come some time or other or the child will never be good for much.[14]

This quote is a fair representation of the attitude toward children of the time and the practice that embodied it. The old Puritan tradition still prevailed in the nineteenth century: train the child in the way he should go—the way of hard work—and do not spare the rod. Little thought had been given to the education of children. Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in the first half of the nineteenth century heroically pleaded for the education of the masses as essential to the survival of democracy, but education was motivated as it had been in the seventeenth and eighteenth

[12] *Op. cit.*, Baylor, p. 85.
[13] *Op. cit.*, Baylor, pp. 85, 86.
[14] *Op. cit.*, Baylor, p. 86.

centuries by the European tradition of leadership by the intellectually elite. By the middle of the nineteenth century 264 institutions of higher learning and 6,000 academies were spread over the land, while children in rural districts rarely had more than two or three months of the year in ill-equipped district schools. The fate of children in crowded city classrooms was little better. Certainly very few schools of the day bore resemblance to "gardens in which children could grow like plants in accordance with the laws of growth," as Froebel would have it.

One of the encouraging replies to Elizabeth Peabody's plea for funds came from one responsible for bringing the Pestalozzian methods to the United States, Dr. E. A. Sheldon, founder of Oswego Normal School in New York. His letter was in contrast to the unfavorable one quoted above. He wrote:

> It affords me no ordinary pleasure to find one so capable of exerting a good influence in an educational way, interested in what I regard as an important reformation in our methods of teaching. Hitherto our teaching has been done in a haphazard way, with no system, with no proper understanding of the character of the infant mind, or the proper appliances or the natural order of succession in the development of the mind. This reformation will prove a rich blessing to the children. I call it an *emancipation.*

Dr. Sheldon added to this complimentary letter an invitation to Elizabeth Peabody to discuss "the new method" with a group of educators at Oswego.[15]

Bent on making the kindergarten known, already in 1862 Elizabeth Peabody took to writing about it: first, an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, "Kindergarten—What Is It?"[16] and in 1864, with Mary Mann, *Moral Culture in Infancy and Kindergarten Guide.*[17] These were opportune, since at the time almost nothing was written in English on the kindergarten. *Moral Culture in Infancy and Kindergarten Guide* became the basis for the development of many of the early American kindergartens.

A significant example of the use of the book was that of Mrs. Louise Pollock, a Prussian-born emigré to the United States. She had become interested in Froebel through reading and interviews with Elizabeth Peabody. In 1864 Mrs. Pollock was invited by Professor N. T. Allen to establish a kindergarten in his English and Classical School at West Newton, Massachusetts. She did this successfully under the tutelage of Elizabeth Peabody and the newly published *Moral Culture in Infancy*

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[15] *Op. cit.*; Baylor, p. 87.

[16] Elizabeth Peabody, "Kindergarten—What Is It?," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1862.

[17] Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Mann, *Moral Culture in Infancy and Kindergarten Guide* (Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham, 1864).

and Kindergarten Guide along with Frau Ronge's *Kindergarten Guide*. Mrs. Pollock's daughter, Susan, later opened the first kindergarten in Washington, D. C.

In her later years Elizabeth Peabody wrote that she regretted that in this time of national peril her preoccupation with the kindergarten prevented her from attending all the anti-slavery meetings that she wished—"though my heart and judgment were always on the anti-slavery side from my earliest infancy when my mother induced us children to refuse to eat sugar because it was the fruit of slave labor." [18] As a matter of fact, she was anything but inactive in the Abolitionist Movement.

Even when Margarethe Schurz engaged Elizabeth Peabody's interest in the kindergarten, Elizabeth could not remain inactive during the aftermath of John Brown's raid. In October 1859 John Brown and his seventeen men had attacked Harper's Ferry and were captured. On December 2 John Brown was executed. Bells from the New England church steeples tolled and people streamed into the churches to pray. On December 16 four of John Brown's men met the same fate as their leader. Shocked at the inaction of her fellow citizens, Elizabeth determined that she would try to save the lives of the two other men condemned to execution. She went to Richmond and pleaded with the Governor for a reprieve. He was adamant, coldly refusing to listen to her entreaties. Wherever she went in Richmond, she found herself scorned. Sadly she returned home with a feeling of defeat and shock.

There is also record of her attending a meeting at Tremont Temple to hear Wendell Phillips, James Freeman Clarke and Emerson speak against slavery. When Wendell Phillips rose to speak a crowd in the gallery yelled, "Throw him out! Throw him out! Throw a brickbat at him! Tell John Andrew, John Brown's dead!" The crowd advanced toward the platform and an armed bodyguard, evidently expecting trouble, closed round Phillips. Phillips managed to quiet the crowd and restore order. After the meeting Elizabeth found herself spirited away by some of the bodyguards who she discovered had been pupils in one of her schools.

When the War was going against the North and many blamed Lincoln for the disastrous events, Elizabeth decided to go to Washington to tell Lincoln what people were saying about him and to give him some good advice. Unlike the Governor of Virginia, Lincoln listened to her and she returned to Boston to tell the people that she and they had been all wrong about Lincoln. While in Washington, Elizabeth had been deeply moved by the sight of Negro children, homeless after their owners' plantations had been destroyed, dying of starvation and disease on the streets.

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[18] *Op. cit.*, Baylor, p. 90.

Through Congressmen and other friends in Washington and by raising money through a literary fair in Concord, Elizabeth succeeded in establishing a home for these children in Washington.[19]

Elizabeth Peabody had decided to focus upon the kindergarten. But it was not as an end in itself or even as a means of giving children greater happiness and better opportunities for learning, important as these were to her. Her purpose was a broader, a more social view. She saw the kindergarten in the perspective of man's inhumanity to man, against the background of heartbreaking events and individual suffering brought on by a tragic Civil War. In Froebel's philosophy of love and gentle guidance as the soil in which children would grow, she saw the hope of a more humane world. Besides, she had been convinced, probably largely by little Agathe Schurz, that the process must be begun in the earliest years. For seven years she had labored directly with young children in the belief that she was on the road to finding the solution to remedying the ills that beset mankind. However, as she critically appraised her work, the results in the children were far removed from her expectations. Her dissatisfaction had been growing, and in 1867 she wrote:

> . . . But seven years of experience with my so-called kindergarten, though it has had a pecuniary success and a very considerable popularity, stimulating to other attempts, convinced me that we were not practicing Froebel's fine art, in as much as the quiet, certain, unexcited growth of self-activity into artistic, self-relying ability which he promised, did not come of our eforts; but there was on the contrary, precocious knowledge, and the consequent morbid intellectual excitement quite out of harmonious relation with moral and aesthetic growth.[20]

That same year, Elizabeth Peabody set off for Europe.

In Search of the "True" Kindergarten

WHERE HAVE I BEEN WRONG? THIS WAS THE QUESTION IN ELIZABETH Peabody's mind when she sailed to Europe in search of what she called the "true" kindergarten. There was no thought that Froebel, the Master, might be wrong; the fault must lie in her application of his ideas.

When Elizabeth decided to make the trip she had no idea how she would finance it. While Pinckney Street Kindergarten had paid off better than any other of her educational efforts, no surplus was left for such a trip. She proceeded to revive her historical lectures and a series of these in several cities defrayed part of her expenses. To her surprise, some of her friends raised the sum of $1,000; and Charlotte Cushman, Elizabeth's famous actress friend, provided clothes from her own wardrobe much to her sister Mary's consternation. Excessively lacy caps, satins embroidered in jet beads—these were far removed from Elizabeth's usual indifferent attire nor were they suitable to her heavy build. Little attention as Elizabeth was used to paying to clothes—it was told that on overnight trips she wore a nightgown under her dress and carried a toothbrush in her handbag—she had a sense of the dramatic and wore the finery with the joy a child feels in dressing up.[21]

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[19] *Op. cit.*, Tharp, p. 291.

[20] Elizabeth P. Peabody, "Our Reason for Being," *Kindergarten Messenger*, Vol. I, No. 1, May 1873, p. 1.

Elizabeth went straight to Germany. In Berlin she visited the kindergarten seminary conducted by the Baroness von Marenholz-Buelow, the most influential of Froebel's students and expositors who kept in close touch with the growing group of American kindergartners. Here Elizabeth found just what she was looking for, a kindergarten run as Froebel would have had it. She was intrigued by the equipment, the soft, bright-colored, worsted-covered balls, the peg boards, the perforated cards for wool embroidery, the child-appealing pictures. She loved the old folk songs the children sang and the singing games they played. Teachers trained at the source must be procured in order to have successful kindergartens in America. Accordingly, Elizabeth invited Matilde Kriege, an outstanding student at the Seminary, and her daughter, Alma, to go to Boston and become part of the Pinckney Street Kindergarten staff. Encouraged by the Baroness and armed with a letter of introduction from Elizabeth to her sister Mary, in charge while Elizabeth was away, the Krieges left for America immediately.

Elizabeth went from Berlin to Dresden to visit Frau Louise Froebel, who had continued her husband's work in several places after his death. In Hamburg Elizabeth visited Emma Jacobina Christiana Marwedel, one of Froebel's students, and probably the one with a mind most philosophically attuned to Froebel's thinking. Elizabeth said it was Miss Marwedel who "inspired me with the courage to make the main object of my life to extend the kindergarten over my own country." [22] In England Elizabeth combined personal and professional visits. She had the joy of reunion with her sister Sophia who with her husband, Nathaniel Hawthorne, had been living in England while he was serving there as American consul. She had the additional pleasure of meeting Frau Ronge, Margarethe Schurz's sister, whose kindergarten had seized the imagination of Henry Barnard in 1854 and whose *Kindergarten Guide* was in use in America. Then through an unexpected gift she was able to extend her trip to Italy where she had opportunity to discuss kindergartens with Mazzini.

Elizabeth Peabody had spent fifteen months on her first trip to Europe where she had visited many other kindergartens in many countries. She had started an influx of Froebelian-trained kindergartners to the United States, the Krieges to be followed by Emma Marwedel in 1870 and by many others in the years ahead. Through her warm, generous nature she established bonds of friendship with European kindergartners and thus laid the foundation for the international character of the early American kindergarten movement. Elizabeth Peabody believed that she had accomplished her quest, that she had found the "true" kindergarten. She had found her "true" role in her decision to devote the rest of her life to the *extension* of the kindergarten. Her decision was strengthened when, upon her return home, she found that the Krieges had taken over the kindergarten on Pinckney Street from Mary and were successfully running it as they had been trained in the Kindergarten Seminary of the Baroness von Marenholz-Buelow.

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[21] *Op. cit.*, Tharp, p. 322.
[22] *Op. cit.*, Baylor, p. 133.

Both Mary and Elizabeth, in their desire to have kindergartens developed by those whom they believed to be the true exponents of the Froebelian principles, not only cheerfully relinquished their school to the Krieges but gave them their hearty support. In 1868 the Krieges added a training school to the kindergarten, the first training school for American kindergartners in the United States, and moved to 127 Charles Street.

In a letter to Henry Barnard soon after the European trip, Elizabeth wrote, "I returned in 1868, zealous to abolish my own and all similar mistakes, and establish the *real thing*, on the basis of an adequate training of the kindergartners."[23] In 1870, in "Plea for Froebel's Kindergartners," she wrote, "The first thing we have to do is to train teachers in Froebel's science and art. There is one training school at 127 Charles Street, Boston, kept by Mrs. Matilde and Miss Alma Kriege educated in the best training school in the world—that of Baroness von Marenholz-Buelow in Berlin who is chief of Froebel's disciples and apostles."[24]

One of her first efforts "to abolish my own and all similar mistakes" was to repudiate her former *Kindergarten Guide* by replacing it with a second edition. She explained the errors in the Preface and revised about thirty pages of the text.[25]

Elizabeth Peabody was now ready to launch on the final and highly effective phase of her passion for education, through lecturing, writing and organizing in extending the kindergarten to all sections of the United States.

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[23] Elizabeth Peabody, "Brief Notice of the Kindergarten in America," in Henry Barnard (ed.), *Kindergarten and Child Culture Papers* (Hartford, Connecticut: Office of Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, Revised Edition, 1890), p. 10.

[24] *Ibid.*, Henry Barnard (ed.), p. 15.

[25] *Ibid.*, Henry Barnard (ed.), p. 94.

Fruitful Years: Promoting Kindergartens

ELIZABETH PEABODY WAS NOW SIXTY-FOUR AND A QUARTER OF A CENTURY of absorbing life lay ahead of her. She was to keep all the threads of her vital past in her hands—family, friends, community and world interests—weaving them in and through the center of her concern, the kindergarten. Fulfillment came to her in these years. As the story is told in the chapters of the present book, most of the women who played leadership roles in childhood education could trace their professional background to Elizabeth Peabody as the source as in a genealogical table.

At home Elizabeth Peabody continued her interest in the Krieges' kindergarten training school, gave courses in philosophy, and in other ways helped to raise funds for it. The school graduated many students who became outstanding contributors to early childhood education. Among them were Mary J. Garland, who succeeded the Krieges in heading the Charles Street School and later became inspector of kindergartens in Boston; Emilie Poulsson, who translated Froebel's *Finger Plays;*[26] and Lucy Wheelock, who founded and for many years headed the Boston training school named in her honor—today a leading teachers' college.

Help came from many sources. Milton Bradley had been asked by Edward Wiebe, an associate of Frau Froebel, to publish his *The Paradise of Childhood*, an explanation of the Froebel system, and to manufacture some of the materials to go with it. Mr. Bradley was not interested in the project; but when he heard Elizabeth Peabody give a lecture at Springfield, Massachusetts, a year later, he was converted and became an enthusiastic supporter of the kindergarten. He both published Mr. Wiebe's book and produced the materials, the latter continuing until 1943.

Financially Elizabeth Peabody was greatly helped by Mrs. Pauline Agassiz Shaw, the daughter of Louis Agassiz. It is estimated that she spent between $30,000 and $50,000 a year in the 1870's in maintaining thirty-one kindergartens in Boston, Cambridge, Brookline and Jamaica Plains.[27]

Henry Barnard, always keenly appreciative of Elizabeth Peabody's ability, invited her to the U. S. Bureau of Education while he was Commissioner. She accepted and between January and March 1871 wrote a bulletin on *The Kindergarten* which was published as a government document.[28] She returned to the Bureau in June, but soon after her arrival she had news of her sister Sophia's death in England. Sophia

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[26] *Ibid.*, Henry Barnard (ed.), p. 137.
[27] *Ibid.*, Henry Barnard (ed.), p. 95.
[28] Elizabeth Peabody, *The Kindergarten* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1872).

Peabody Hawthorne, unable to find contentment at home after her husband's death, had returned with her three children to Europe. Elizabeth felt the loss of Sophia keenly and immediately set sail for England. She cared tenderly for the three children and nursed back to health Una, the eldest, who was seriously ill at the time.

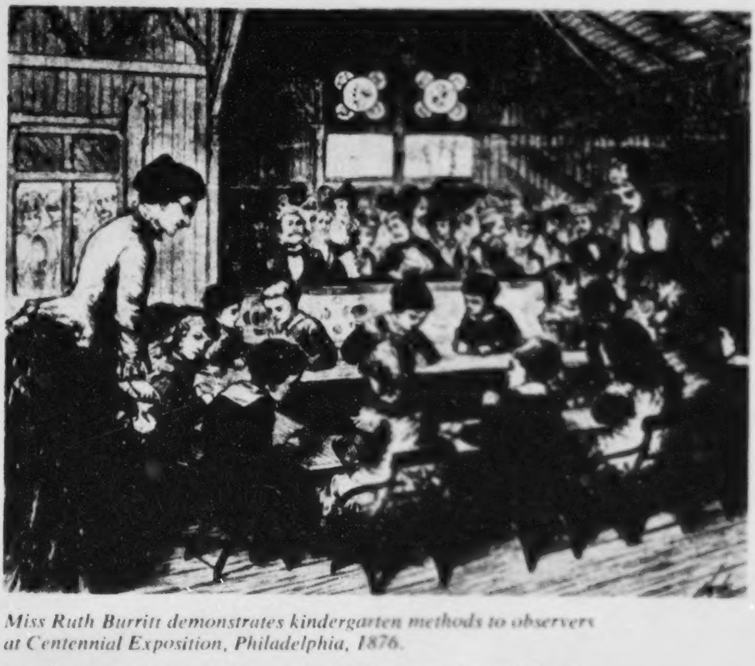
With her extraordinary ability to combine loving care for her family with professional responsibilities, she added three important achievements in furthering the growth of kindergartens. She helped the English kindergartners organize a Froebel Union. She paid a visit to the Baroness von Marenholz-Buelow, thus cementing further the bonds of friendship with this powerful leader in the kindergarten world. She induced Maria Boelte, a pupil of Frau Froebel's in Hamburg, to agree to become part of the kindergarten movement in America. The last had a far-reaching effect, for Maria Boelte married the eminent scholar and kindergarten enthusiast, John Kraus, and together they established The New York Seminary for Kindergartners in which many of the early leaders were to receive their initial training.

As a lecturer, Elizabeth Peabody was an undoubted success, particularly as measured by results. President Hunter of the New York City College, later named for him, had heard of the kindergarten and Elizabeth Peabody from Dr. Adolph Douai who had established a kindergarten in his German-American academy at Newark, New Jersey. Dr. Hunter was interested and invited Elizabeth Peabody to give a series of lectures on the kindergarten to his faculty. The result was the establishment of a kindergarten and kindergarten training department at the College in 1874.

Much of Elizabeth Peabody's lecturing was done *in* the Middle West—Cleveland, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit. A lecture in Chicago to a group of superintendents and principals was of particular significance in its many ramifications in the extension of the kindergarten. Mrs. Alice H. Putnam, prominent in the cultural life of Chicago, went to the lecture because of interest in the education of her young daughter. She was so fascinated by Elizabeth Peabody's explanation of the kindergarten that she became a student, studying first with Susan Blow who had just started her work in St. Louis and then with the Kraus-Boeltes. Beginning with a mothers' club, Mrs. Putman's work grew into kindergarten associations, kindergartens and kindergarten training centers. Major leadership developed in the kindergarten training centers was represented by Elizabeth Harrison, Alice Temple and Anna E. Bryan.

Elizabeth Peabody's persistence in driving on to the finish in anything she undertook is exemplified in the way she gave no peace to William Torrey Harris until she had enlisted him in the cause of education for young children. Harris was Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis when Elizabeth began her letter-writing campaign on him in 1871. She appreciated his great leadership in education, a key figure who would be a tremendous asset to her cause. He did not answer her first letter or many others that she subsequently wrote; but she continued to write, acquainting him with every new publication, every new kindergarten that was established and any other event in the kindergarten world she thought of significance. Finally he answered, and the result justified all her efforts. In 1873 William T. Harris and Susan Blow not only opened the first public kindergarten in the United States, an event of highest significance in the development of education for young children, but both became outstanding leaders in kindergarten development. No doubt Elizabeth Peabody, whose interest in kindergarten was part of her deep concern for all humanity, found special satisfaction in the establishment of this first *public school* kindergarten.

Kate Douglas Wiggin was another person whose unique contribution to the education of young children had been influenced by Elizabeth Peabody. Emma Marwedel, who had come to the United States on Elizabeth Peabody's invitation, after conducting a training school for



Miss Ruth Burritt demonstrates kindergarten methods to observers at Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876.

Engraving from Historical Register, Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876.

kindergartners in Washington, D. C., from 1872 to 1876, moved to Los Angeles and founded a training school there. Kate Douglas Smith (later Wiggin) was one of her pupils. Dr. Felix Adler, President of the Ethical Culture Society, had become interested in the kindergarten and gave a series of lectures in California where interest was high due to Miss Marwedel's work. The result was the establishment of the Silver Street Kindergarten in San Francisco and the invitation to Kate Douglas Smith to become its director. Before undertaking her work, the young Kate traveled East to consult with Elizabeth Peabody. Out of these beginnings, the movement in Early Childhood Education spread along the entire West Coast.

With her ear close to the ground, Elizabeth Peabody seized opportunities in events that offered promotion of her cause. When the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 was proposed, she was quick to enter into the planning of an educational exhibit. This resulted in a model kindergarten conducted by Miss Ruth Burritt in the Woman's Pavilion. Thousands of visitors thronged to the kindergarten and the daily lectures that followed the demonstration. As a result, Miss Burritt remained in Philadelphia to conduct a kindergarten and training class sponsored by the American Friends Society. The demonstration at the Exposition gave a powerful boost to the development of kindergartens in the United States.

Elizabeth Peabody realized, too, the power of voluntary organizations. She knew how great an influence and of what practical help the many Froebel Associations and kindergarten associations had been in supporting kindergartens. She felt the need for a unifying force for all of these associations and in 1878 had gained the interest of leaders in the field in helping form the American Froebel Union. Elizabeth Peabody was elected acting president representing Baroness von Marenholz-Buelow, honorary president.

While Elizabeth Peabody was focusing her efforts on extending the kindergarten for American children, the efforts of the German settlers for German-speaking kindergartens for their children continued. While most of these had little influence beyond their immediate purpose, in some cases they stimulated the establishment of English-speaking kindergartens. This was notably true in Wisconsin. By 1873 kindergartens had been established in the four German-American Academies of Milwaukee; and when in 1874 Dr. William Hailmann became president of one of these institutions, his wife, Eudora, started a kindergarten and training classes in both languages. American kindergartens continued to grow in Wisconsin after this, and in 1880 a kindergarten training department was opened in the Oshkosh Normal School.[29]

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[29] Nina C. Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1908), pp. 21, 22.

Sometimes, as in Washington Territory, German and American kindergartens were established at approximately the same time. Two were opened in Seattle in 1882, one in English by Mrs. C. A. Blaine and the other in German by Mrs. Frank Guttenburg.[30]

In other cases, English-speaking kindergartens were started by Germans. This was true, for example, of the first kindergarten in Utah established in 1874 by Camilla Clara Meith Cobb. Camilla Cobb was born in Dresden in 1843 and was reared in Froebelian atmosphere, since both her father, Principal of Dresden Normal School, and her brother-in-law, Karl G. Maeser, practiced the Froebelian principles in educating children. When Mr. Maeser and his family decided to make their home in America, Camilla came with them. Mr. Maeser became Principal of the Union Academy in Salt Lake City, with Camilla an assistant. After the birth of her second child Camilla decided to become a kindergartner. While she knew a good deal about German kindergartens, she stated she needed to know how they were conducted in America. She went to Newark, New Jersey, to learn and enrolled in Dr. Adolph Douai's training classes. In 1874 she returned "with a trunkful of 'Gifts' " and opened her kindergarten.

Camilla was invited to write a series of three articles for *The Woman's Exponent* published by the women of Salt Lake City. A few excerpts are given as illustrative of the thinking and feeling of the kindergartners she typified:

> . . . Her mission is not so much for mere class training, in a common school where the individuality of the child becomes more or less subordinate to general rule, but rather the study of every single little one destined to develop under her care. . . .[31]
>
> The child that does not love to play cannot be a healthy child. But the "plays" of Froebel's kindergarten are with profound philosophy, systematized, and possess a far deeper significance than to while away the time. . . .[32]
>
> Froebel's main study was to harmonize the elements of our common human nature—animal, intellectual, moral, spiritual that integrity of culture may result. He saw the elements nascent in the child, and that affection was the master chord of its being. His principle of operation is, therefore, love and not fear—to engage and train the young and active faculties, not specially to coerce them. . . .[33] *

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[30] Contributed by Elizabeth Neterer, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

[31] Camilla C. M. Cobb, "The Kindergarten," *The Woman's Exponent*, Salt Lake Valley, August 1, 1875.

[32] ——, "The Kindergarten—Utilizing Play," *The Woman's Exponent*, September 1, 1875.

[33] ——, "The Paradise of Childhood," *The Woman's Exponent*, October 3, 1875.

* Contributed by Jennie Campbell, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

Elizabeth Peabody never lost her interest in the cause of the Negro. Her Abolitionist ardor continued after the Civil War and was channeled into her effort for kindergartens for all American children. In 1881 she sent a statement to Henry Barnard asking that it be published in his *Journal of Education*. In it she expressed the hope that he would find space in the journal for a brief notice of the successful efforts being made in Philadelphia to put the kindergarten in the hands of the Negro people. Then she told how Miss Van Kirk, "the oldest and most successful kindergartner in Philadelphia," took four young Negro girls, graduates of the Bainbridge School of which Miss Young Jackson was "the gifted and learned principal," and trained them to be kindergartners. When she thought they were ready she assigned them to two kindergartens of twenty children each, a pair of the young teachers in each room, and continued their supervision.

Elizabeth went on to tell of a kindergarten training school of Negro women conducted by Mrs. Guion Gourlay, who had been inspired by an anti-slavery ancestor to work with Negroes as "factors in the civilization of humanity and especially as citizens of this country." Miss Peabody had gone to Philadelphia to give the diplomas to a graduation class of nine, of whom four were graduates of Miss Jackson's school and had been taught by Mrs. Gourlay without charge.

The statement was published, including Elizabeth Peabody's closing comment:

> The advantage that the temperament of the colored classes serve is in the predominance of their aesthetic sensibility over the mere force of will. . . . I remember when I first heard the Hampton singers what an impression was made on me by their natural music, what a revelation of the truth that "man's extremity is God's opportunity," and that in the future interchange of their spiritual knowledge o[illegible] world's law, and even of that necessary correlation of cosmic forces which we call the material universe, they have the advantage. Mrs. Gourlay's class pioneers the good time coming when both races shall be seen to be only opposite factors of an harmonized humanity.[31]

Nor did Elizabeth Peabody forget the American Indians. She was over eighty when the Princess Winnemuca came to Boston to plead the cause of the Piutes, her people. Her dramatic portrayal of the grievances the Piutes suffered made instant appeal to both Mary and Elizabeth. Mary wrote a pamphlet setting forth the wrongs of the Piutes and generously published it over the Princess' name. Elizabeth arranged for lectures given by the Princess in full Indian dress.

The Princess made a strong popular appeal and funds were raised.

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[31] Henry Barnard (ed.), *Kindergarten and Child Culture Papers*, republished from *American Journal of Education* (Hartford, Connecticut: Office of Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, 1890), pp. 735, 736.

Over a period of six years Elizabeth collected and sent her $100 a month to build a school for the Piute children. Kate Douglas Wiggin, who had become a warm friend and admirer of Elizabeth, sent her as a birthday gift $1,000 collected from California kindergartners. Elizabeth thanked her and sent $800 to the Princess. Then it was learned that, with all the money that had been collected, the construction of the school had hardly begun. However, because she was convinced of the dire needs of the Piutes, regardless of any shortcomings of the Princess, Elizabeth made a trip to Washington, D. C., to plead their cause with President Cleveland; and this was after she had suffered a slight stroke and her eyes had begun to fail.[35]

Elizabeth did not lose her intellectual verve, her eagerness always to extend the bounds of her own knowledge. When her old friend, Bronson Alcott, decided to open his School of Philosophy in the summer of 1879 in Concord, there sat Elizabeth in a front seat eagerly taking notes and participating vigorously in the discussions that followed the lectures. The school continued for nine summers, during three of which Elizabeth lectured—in 1882, 1883 and 1884—on Milton's *Paradise Lost* and A Philosophy of Education.

During the summers that she attended the School of Philosophy, Elizabeth stayed at the Emerson's home and counted these visits among the delights of her life. In 1884 Emerson died and in 1887, her sister Mary, companion in so many of her enterprises. Elizabeth loved people and had to find expression for her deep feeling. Sometimes her outlet was practical, as in her recordings for Dr. Channing and Bronson Alcott. In Elizabeth Peabody's late years her outlet took the form of eulogies to departed friends: *Reminiscences of William Ellery Channing* in 1880; *Genius and Character of Emerson* in 1885; and *Last Evenings with Allston and other Papers* in 1886. Always Elizabeth Peabody utilized her masterly skill in writing.

In her comprehensive bibliography, Ruth M. Baylor states Elizabeth Peabody as author of 149 letters, poems, lectures, articles and books; editor of ten books; publisher of eleven books and magazines; and translator of four books, one from the Italian and three from the French. In 1880 Henry Barnard collected the material on the kindergarten that had appeared in his *Journal of Education*. A revised edition appeared in 1890 with some articles of Elizabeth Peabody which contain the essence of her thinking on the kindergarten. The following selected excerpts have relevance not only to today but to tomorrow and many tomorrows that lie ahead.

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[35] *Op. cit.*, Tharp, pp. 327, 328.

Speaking of Froebel in her letter to the editor which opens the volume, she wrote:

> . . . instinctively divining that an education which recognizes every human being as self-active, and even creative, in his own moral and intellectual nature, must be fatal, in the end to all despotic governments. . . .[36]

In our culture marked by mechanization and standardization, when both parents and teachers are enticed to purchase high-promising, attractively packaged, and largely useless gadgetry as aids to learning, Elizabeth Peabody's words might well be heeded. After speaking appreciatively of Milton Bradley's cooperation in manufacturing the Froebel material, she wrote:

> The interest of manufacturers and of merchants in the gifts and materials is a snare. It has already corrupted the simplicity of Froebel in Europe and America, for the idea was to use elementary forms exclusively, and simple materials—as much as possible of these being prepared by the children themselves.[37]

Only as this is being written are any real steps being taken to recognize by practical measures that education must include infancy in its responsibility. Nearly a century has elapsed since Elizabeth Peabody wrote:

> We can only understand the child and what we are to do for it in the kindergarten by understanding the first stage of its being—the pre-intellectual one in the nursery. The body is the first garden in which God plants the human soul, "to dress and to keep it." The loving mother is the first word of Froebel's gospel of child culture.[38]
>
> The neglected and maltreated child is dull of sense and lifeless or morbidly impulsive, possibly savagely cruel and cunning, in sheer self-defense. The pure element and first condition of perfect growth is the joy that responds to the electric touch of love.[39]

Not often has the relation of art to play, of the artist to the child and of the real importance of play been more simply and clearly expressed than by Elizabeth Peabody:

> Childish play has all the main characteristics of art, in as much as it is the endeavor to conform the outward show of things to the desires of the mind.[40]

In our frantic, fear-begotten efforts to speed up learning, we are likely to resort to words and short-cut the basic experiences that alone give them meaning. Elizabeth Peabody was aware of this tendency, for it has always existed and again and again we need to be warned of its futility:

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[36] *Op. cit.*, Barnard, p. 5.
[37] *Op. cit.*, Barnard, p. 13.
[38] *Op. cit.*, Barnard, p. 564.
[39] *Op. cit.*, Barnard, p. 565.
[40] *Op. cit.*, Barnard, p. 674.

> It is the first principle that the object, motion, or action should precede the *word* that names them.[11]

And we are just as likely to forget the real essence that makes language human, as Elizabeth Peabody saw it:

> Smiles and sounds, proceeding out of the mouth, are the first languages and begin to fix the little child's eyes and attention upon the mouth of the mother, from which issue the tones that are sweetest to hear, and especially when in musical cadence. But the child understands the words addressed to him long before he himself begins to articulate: for language is no function of the individual, but only of the conscious social being yearning to find himself in another.[12]

When Froebel saw his life work jeopardized by the decision of the Prussian government to ban kindergartens as inimical to the interests of the State, he looked to the freedom of America as the only soil in which his dreams could be nurtured. There were those in America who realized not only this but also that it was only through education that the freedom could survive. Elizabeth Peabody saw in America probably more than anyone of her generation that all depended on the way the start was made in the earliest years:

> . . . only by making our Public Schools give the same profound and harmonious training to the whole nature of *all the people* that those ancient secret societies gave only *to the few*—a thing that is to be expected much more by performing and perfecting the primary department than by endowing universities; though the latter are the capstones of the educational edifice.[13]

So Elizabeth Peabody spoke and wrote and so her followers taught. It is a priceless heritage she and they have left. All the influences of her life speak through her words. They are the culmination of experiences after having explored life in most of its aspects of creative effort, joy, sadness, love, compassion. It was through these that she found her final fulfillment in work for children for those who would live after her.

When Elizabeth died at the age of ninety, only Nathaniel of her immediate family was left. Channing, Emerson, Horace Mann, Hawthorne, Alcott—true friends who had contributed most deeply to the maturing of her thought—all had gone. She had been a sturdy staff on whom they had all leaned. Elizabeth Peabody had lived and strengthened them to the end. Peacefully, she too laid down the burden which, although at times heavy, had served to spur her to carry heavier ones.

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[11] *Op. cit.*, Barnard, p. 572.
[12] *Op. cit.*, Barnard, pp. 567, 568.
[13] *Op. cit.*, Barnard.

4

SUSAN E. BLOW (1843-1916)

Interpreting Froebel—Absolute Idealism

Susan E. Blow

4

SUSAN E. BLOW (1843-1916)
Interpreting Froebel–Absolute Idealism

Peabody and Blow

SUSAN E. BLOW WAS BORN IN 1843, ALMOST A HALF CENTURY LATER than Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, but their professional careers overlapped. This was due to Susan's comparatively early interest in the kindergarten, while Elizabeth's interest did not develop until she was much older. Despite the difference in age, the two women shared the distinction of leadership in the earliest days of the promotion and interpretation of the Froebelian kindergarten in the United States.

Susan Blow and Elizabeth Peabody had much in common. Both came from distinguished families. The immediate family of each was large; both managed throughout their lives to give devoted care to their parents, brothers and sisters, no matter how absorbing their professional interests. Both women were of gigantic intellect; neither had attended college but each had acquired an unusually broad education through her own efforts. Both women were profoundly religious and their educational philosophy took on the cast of their religious beliefs. Most significant was Elizabeth Peabody's and Susan Blow's involvement in the nineteenth-century German philosophy of absolute idealism, an important factor in their acceptance of the mystical Froebelian educational philosophy.

While there were similarities in Elizabeth Peabody's and Susan Blow's lives, there were also sharp contrasts. Susan inherited wealth and could have lived luxuriously throughout her life had she so wished; Elizabeth's whole life was marked by struggles of genteel poverty. The most important contrast was the difference in their temperaments. With Elizabeth, to think was to act; while with Susan, though far from an idle dreamer, the idea itself, a sudden flash of insight, the deepening of understanding were infinitely satisfying. This made Elizabeth the promoter and Susan, the interpreter.

From Ease to Service

SUSAN E. BLOW WAS BORN IN ST. LOUIS ON JUNE 7, 1843. HER FORbears on her father's side were Virginians who had moved westward, her grandparents settling in St. Louis in 1830. Her father was a successful businessman who combined his vocational interests with political and diplomatic service. He served in the Missouri State Senate from 1854 to the outbreak of the Civil War; opposed slavery; recruited troops for the Union army; was Minister to Venezuela and later to Brazil and a member of the United States House of Representatives. Susan's mother, Minerva Grimsley, was the daughter of a saddler who invented the dragon saddle used by the United States Army.

When Susan was six years old, the home in St. Louis burned. Her later childhood and youth were spent in the palatial home built by her father outside the town of Carondelet. Her father became active in civic life: founded a Presbyterian church, contributed to the establishment of a public school system and in general concerned himself with the welfare of his city. First Susan attended a small French school; then a school for boys where she and a friend were the only girls; later a girls' school founded by her father; and finally Miss Haines's school in New York, a typical secondary school for the daughters of the well-to-do. With this background it would have been natural for Susan to become immersed in the social activities in which her family played a prominent role. But Susan had too serious a mind for this. Denton J. Snider, the Shakespearian scholar who was to play a prominent role in Susan's life, met her at this time and commented:

> I first heard of Miss Blow shortly after the close of the Civil War at a dancing club of which she and her sisters were members, they, prominent as the daughters of a distinguished Congressman. By these golden youths she was set down as too bookish, displaying too much erudition for a woman.[1]

A later comment by Denton Snider adds to the picture of the scholarly young Susan. He wrote of meeting a German pedagogue who had tutored Susan in German and described her as "too reflective, too philosophical, too much inclined to the strict and logical rather than to the poetic and emotional for a woman." The tutor also spoke to Denton Snider of having met a clergyman "who had been summoned to give spiritual advice and consolation to Susan who was in some great religious crisis of life through which she was passing with no little distress." [2]

Looking back on this period later in life, Susan described her frame of mind in a letter to William T. Harris:

> All this time I was conscious of two things—an irresistible impulse to action and a hunger for something which might seem worth doing. I suppose I had the feeling the Catholics call vocation. I was always trying to read books which would confirm my faith and was fond of citing things like, "Doubt of any kind can be removed only by action. The end of man is an action, not

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[1] Denton J. Snider, *The St. Louis Movement in Philosophy, Literature, Education and Psychology* (St. Louis, 1920), p. 295. Quoted by Margaret Hilliker, *The Life of Susan Blow* (Manuscript in St. Louis Public Library).

[2] *Ibid.*

> a thought, though it was the noblest." Had my father permitted I should have gone into some definite work long before I did, but I would never have done anything against his wish. I remember definitely saying to myself that I would be ready for work and when the right moment came God would show the work: Christ awaited until he was thirty and should I not be willing to wait for a chance to do the little I was able to do? Meanwhile I would discipline my character, which sadly needed it, and I would study for what I was someday to do.[3]

At twenty-seven Susan found that "something which might seem worth doing." She had heard of Elizabeth Peabody's work in establishing kindergartens and of their German prototypes. Her interest had been sufficiently aroused to want to visit German kindergartens and collect samples of Froebelian materials during a European trip with her family. Now the opportunity came. Superintendent William T. Harris had yielded to the pressure exerted for several years by Elizabeth Peabody to try out a kindergarten in the St. Louis Public Schools.

Superintendent Harris' concern was with the sad fact that most St. Louis children attended school only between the ages of seven and ten. He saw in the kindergarten not only its intrinsic value for the early years but a practical means for the children of St. Louis, since there was little hope of holding many in school for a few more years of education beyond the age of ten. Accordingly, he recommended to the Board of Education that some kind of classes be established for children below seven. The Board responded by appointing a committee to study the advisability of adding "play schools" to the public school system. The success of the "play schools" established by Dr. Adolph Douai, the respected German educator in Newark, New Jersey, was a contributing factor to the decision of the Board.

When Susan Blow heard of the plan she immediately asked Dr. Harris, her friend, to permit her to be the teacher of the kindergarten. Dr. Harris agreed but with the stipulation, first, she must have some preparation. Susan realized the importance of this stipulation and set off for New York where she enrolled in the New York Institute for Kindergartners established by Maria Kraus-Boelte, whom Elizabeth Peabody had secured from Germany.

After remaining through the fall and winter of 1872-73 in New York, Susan Blow returned at Superintendent Harris' request to start the first public school kindergarten in the United States. Feeling that she needed more preparation, Susan would have preferred remaining in New York until the following fall but she complied with the Superintendent's request. The new building planned for the kindergarten had not been

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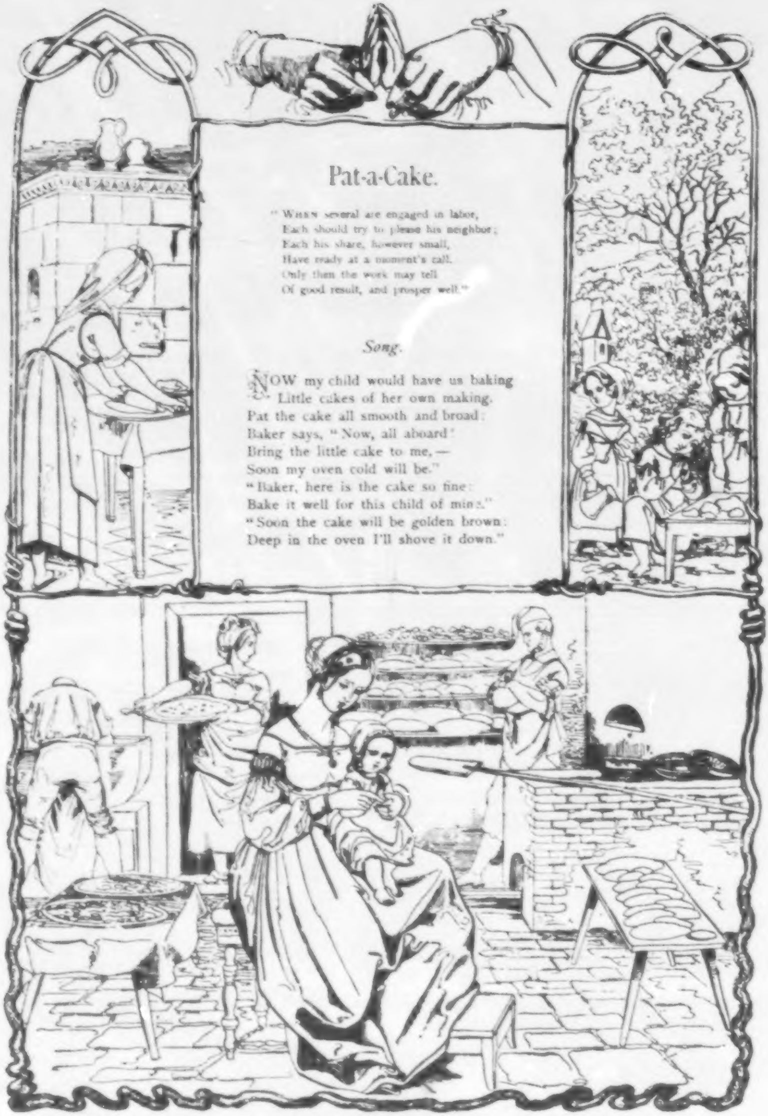
[3] Letter from Susan E. Blow to William F. Harris (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).



Pat-a-Cake.

"When several are engaged in labor,
Each should try to please his neighbor;
Each his share, however small,
Have ready at a moment's call.
Only then the work may tell
Of good result, and prosper well."

Song.

Now my child would have us baking
Little cakes of her own making.
Pat the cake all smooth and broad:
Baker says, "Now, all aboard!
Bring the little cake to me,—
Soon my oven cold will be."
"Baker, here is the cake so fine:
Bake it well for this child of mine."
"Soon the cake will be golden brown:
Deep in the oven I'll shove it down."

From an 1895 translation of Mother Play and Nursery Songs *by Friedrich Froebel, edited by Elizabeth Peabody* completed when Susan arrived, so she began work in the spring of 1873 with twelve children in her Carondelet home. In the fall the kindergarten moved into the new building, known as the Des Peres Kindergarten. On the first day twenty children arrived and daily more kept coming until the enrollment closed with forty-two. Miss Blow was director; Miss Timberlake, the teacher; Cynthia Porter and Sallie Shawk, student assistants, the first kindergartners to be trained by Susan Blow.

Inspired Teaching

IN GENERAL, SUSAN BLOW FOLLOWED THE SAME PROGRAM AS THE HYPOthetical one ascribed to Margarethe Schurz: Mother Play, the "Gifts," the "Occupations," Story Telling, Folk Games, Celebration of Holidays, Gardening, and Care of Pets. In training kindergartners she followed the prevailing procedure in placing the students immediately in kindergartens as assistants to trained teachers. This practical experience was in the mornings, while afternoons were for classes in the theory underlying the mornings' work. Theory and practice were closely coordinated.

An advanced program was given on Saturday following the initial year's preparation. This included further professional education and courses in great literature. These courses in great literature were taught by Susan but frequently supplemented with lectures by her two appreciative and intellectual co-workers, William Torrey Harris and Denton J. Snider. The courses successively included studies of Greek tragedies, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, *Herodotus*, Shakespeare's drama, Dante, the philosophy of history, and psychology.

In no area of her educational credo was Susan Blow more eloquent than when she pleaded for telling the great stories to children. Nursery rhymes, traditional stories, myths of Greece, Rome and the Orient, Bible stories of the Old and the New Testaments—these were our heritage, and to Susan Blow the birthright of all children. They spoke for themselves, believed Susan, as did the fingerplays in *Mother Play*, with the understanding that the adult was aware of the truths, the meanings that they convey; but, if children were to become the inheritors of literary treasures of all ages, teachers must not only be knowledgeable of their content but be imbued with their spirit.[1] She saw in literature's aims the teacher's need for understanding life, its conflicts, its aspirations.

With keen perceptiveness Susan Blow related the insights of master minds to the education of children. In *Letters to a Mother* in the chapter, "Heart Insight," she illustrated from Faust:

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[1] International Kindergarten Union, Committee of Nineteen, *Pioneers of the Kindergarten in America*, chapter on Susan Blow by Laura Fischer (New York and London: The Century Co., 1924), p. 190.

> . . . . the relation of all great literature to the human cycle of innocence, sin, repentance, holiness; of doubt, denial, aspiration, insight.[5]

Again, illustrating from *The Divine Comedy*, she wrote:

> If faith were the living cord which bound all individuals into one great humanity and made possible the hierarchy of human institutions, was not the nurture of faith the beginning of all education, and was it not the prime duty of the educator to win faith by deserving it?[6]

Susan Blow was a great teacher and inspired many students who were to become leaders in early childhood education. Among these was Elizabeth Harrison, who had heard of the fame of Susan Blow during her initial training in Chicago and decided to visit her training school. After attending a Saturday morning class on Mother Play, Elizabeth Harrison wrote that she went off by herself "to be alone with the mighty thoughts which the morning had brought me." Later she wrote her reactions:

> I, halting, doubting, had, as it were, been shown the path by means of which one might ascend to the realm of truth, such truth that nothing could ever again shake its foundation. The clear-cut logic of Miss Blow's arguments had led me step by step from the commonplace things of everyday life to the possibility of "companionship with God." I was compelled in later years to differ radically from Miss Blow in many practical matters. But never will I forget while life lasts, the light and inspiration she gave me on that Saturday morning.[7]

When one considers that the topic of the lecture was "The Mowing Song" from *Mother Play* and that so simple an experience as cutting grass should arouse such emotion in Elizabeth Harrison, one can glimpse the depth of life's meaning Froebel conveyed in his simple songs and the sensitivity of Susan Blow's interpretation.

Later, after a year of study with Susan Blow, Elizabeth Harrison made a more analytical evaluation:

> To the few who understood her application of Froebel's teaching in his *Mother Play*, she was always a source of inspiration. But a number of her students showed by their work that they had grasped details only, instead of fundamental principles, and consequently did not have the flexibility and freedom necessary for creative work founded on the selection of educative environments, the experiences, and the culture background of each group of children; consequently their work became formal and non-creative.[8]

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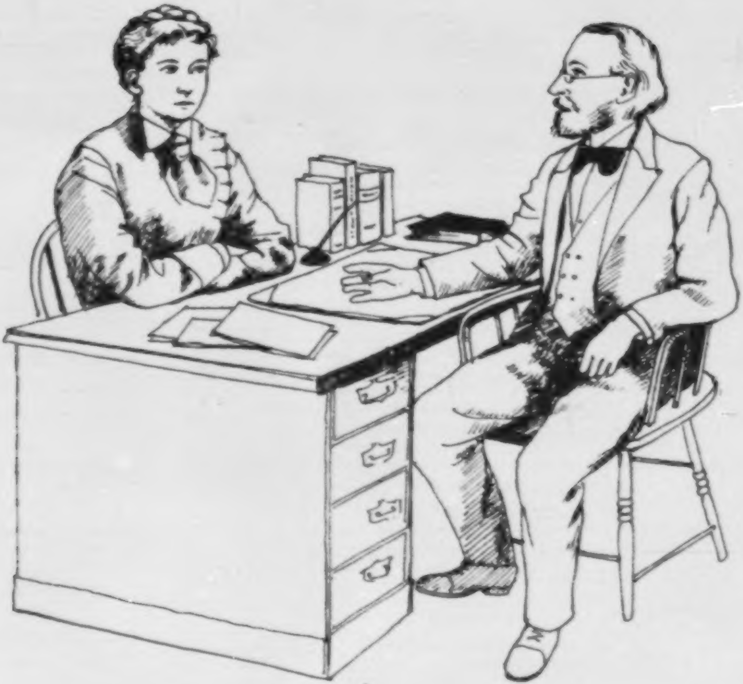
[5] Susan E. Blow, *Letters to a Mother* (New York: D. Appleton Co., 1899), p. 27.

[6] ——, *A Study of Dante* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1890), pp. 12, 13.

[7] Elizabeth Harrison, *Sketches Along Life's Road* (Boston: The Stratford Co., 1930), pp. 63, 64.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 71.



Susan Blow confers with Superintendent Harris.

As one wrestles with the depth of philosophical thinking in all of Susan Blow's writing, one can well appreciate the validity of Elizabeth Harrison's comments and feel the poignancy of Susan Blow's disappointment as she came to realize the gap between her thinking and the meager understanding of it by her students.

Susan Blow's intensive teaching experience in St. Louis spanned a period of eleven years. Never robust, these were her best years from the standpoint of health. They were years of tremendous achievement. When William Torrey Harris resigned the superintendency of the St. Louis Public Schools in 1880, he had the satisfaction of seeing public school kindergartens reach the number of fifty-eight. In these years he and Susan Blow had stood shoulder to shoulder in bringing an ideal into a reality. They were bound by ties of philosophic thought, and his administrative support and skill helped Susan Blow carry forward her work to its unusual success.

While Superintendent Harris headed the St. Louis Schools, Susan Blow, without salary, was the controlling force in the kindergartens. This position she occupied despite the fact not all members of the Board of Education were in sympathy with the kindergarten development. From time to time there were efforts to place kindergartens under elementary grade supervisors. It was argued that by doing so the principles of the kindergarten would move upward into the grades. Susan Blow, practical-minded along with her philosophic idealism, scented a danger. She felt it would be the other way around: the formality of the grades would seize the kindergarten in its grip. No longer having Superintendent Harris to defend the integrity of the kindergarten, the opposition won; and in 1884 Mary C. McCullough was assigned the supervision of kindergartens by the Board of Education.

A year before Susan had written to Dr. Harris—their lifelong friendship continued after he left St. Louis—that she would have to curtail her activities because of intense fatigue. Then in the face of what she considered a disastrous change, she resigned outright. A number of her staunch followers resigned with her: Laura Fisher became Director of Boston Public School Kindergartens; Cynthia Dozier, Supervisor of the New York Kindergarten Association; Mary D. Runyan, Head, Kindergarten Department of Teachers College, Columbia University; Caroline Hart, Head, Training School of the Kindergarten Association of Baltimore; Harriet Niel, Head, Training School Kindergarten, Washington, D. C.

Thus abruptly, St. Louis, the acknowledged fountainhead of the kindergarten movement, saw the close of a prestigious era. Instead of leadership being focused in one geographic spot, a dissemination of its influence was over a wide area. Less dramatically because it was gradual, this spread outward had always been true as student after student, inspired by Susan Blow's teaching, carried its influence to many parts of the United States. The powerful kindergarten movement centered in Chicago had its origin when Mrs. Harvey Putnam, under the stimulus of Elizabeth Peabody, prepared herself through study with Susan Blow. Similarly Kate Douglas Wiggin (then Kate Douglas Smith), after studying with Emma Marwedel and before undertaking her work in San Francisco, traveled East to consult with Susan Blow and Elizabeth Peabody. All this spelled the natural growth that results from inspired teaching.[9]

Troubled Years

THE FATIGUE WHICH SUSAN BLOW HAD MENTIONED TO DR. HARRIS IN 1883 gradually settled into a debilitating illness. Her health grew steadily worse, including eyesight so impaired that she could barely read. Illness and death in her immediate family further drained her strength. Her mother and father were no longer with her to sustain her; both had died in 1875. In 1880 she stayed with her brother John during the last months of his life. In 1884 she went to Europe to be with her sister, Mrs. deSmirnoff, whose husband had died. In the same year she went to New Orleans to be with her sister, Mrs. LeBourgeois, during her last days before her death at the stillbirth of her fifth child. The remaining children came under the devoted care of Susan and Mrs. Wadsworth, her sister.

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[9] *Op. cit.*, Snider and Hilliker, adapted.

Susan remained in St. Louis until 1888 when Laura Fisher, a good friend and colleague, persuaded her to accompany her to Boston to consult the neurologist, Dr. Putnam (not related to Mrs. Harvey Putnam). This proved to be a most fortunate decision. Dr. Putnam not only helped her to much improved health but also became an attentive and appreciative friend.

Her illness was diagnosed as Graves' disease, with its accompaniments of tension and sleeplessness and marked by fluctuating periods of depression and activity. This continued until 1891 when she recovered quite abruptly. A major operation, however, was necessary the following year from which, in spite of her years of illness, she recovered surprisingly well. At the same time Miss Fisher fell ill and had to return to her home in St. Louis. Mrs. Wadsworth, Susan's sister, who lived in Avon, New York, helped her find a home at Cazenovia where it was possible for the sisters to keep in close contact even though a hundred miles away.

Combined with the effort to overcome physical illness, Susan Blow was still beset with the inner religious conflicts Denton Snider had noted in her youth. Controlled by her absorption in her kindergarten work, they were never really resolved. During this period of shattering personal problems, they became acute. In every letter to Mrs. Hitchcock, a friend, she spoke of her difficulty in reconciling the specifics of dogma with which she had been reared with the deeper interpretation of Christianity which she was reaching. The many comments in her letters on sermons she had heard (particularly those of Phillips Brooks and Canon Farrar, and those on the reading she had been doing) were at times in a direct effort to clarify her thinking. At other times, she applied the more secular literature of great minds to her own problems.

A letter to Mrs. Hitchcock from Boston dated December 28, 1884, is illustrative:

> . . . I am enjoying very much the opportunity of doing a great deal of reading. I have just finished Maurice's *Theological Essays* and his *Sermons on the Epistles of John*. I feel in them more the

> power of Christian character and experience than of profound thought. I cannot help but feel that the problem with which this age must grapple is first whether there must not be a restatement of all Christian dogma, and if this question is answered in the affirmative then to define the new foundation and organize the new thought.
>
> With Mr. Brooks as with Maurice the dominant thought is the in dwelling of the divine life in man. He is never so earnest and eloquent as when he speaks of fresh infusions of divinity into humanity—he never so nearly approaches weakness as when he tries to square this view with the outward facts of Scripture history. One feels always the power of the man—the rounded Christian character and thoroughly healthy nature—but I cannot help feeling also that he, too, needs the clearer definition for which we all must wait.[10]

This from Boston, February 22, 1885, to Mr. Hitchcock, evidently in response to one from him, is illustrative of her less directly religious reading:

> . . . I have been reading the Carlyle and Emerson correspondence. It seems to me suggestive that in one of his latest letters Carlyle describes himself "as a gloomy, serious, silent, and sad old man gazing into the final chasm of things and holding a dialogue mute on both sides with Death, Judgment, and Eternity"; and that Emerson declares that "of step of mine taken in a right direction a true solution of any even the least secret there is naught to tell." It has always seemed to me that Carlyle saw too exclusively the "impediments" of life, whereas Emerson really loses power by refusing to see them at all. I don't believe in any goodness which has not been achieved by struggle but neither should I dare to doubt what the struggle will achieve.[11]

While Susan Blow was struggling back to physical and spiritual health, events were occurring in the wider arena of her professional concerns as poignant in their effect on her as were her personal problems. A new age of rapid advances in science and industry was beginning to change the whole complex of American culture. There was less reliance on the Old World for its traditions, its standards in the arts, its mores. A dawning self-consciousness of its own individuality and an accompanying responsibility for giving it expression were felt in all fields of American life. The development of an indigenous philosophy and psychology was the most important in shaping American education in the years ahead.

Pierce had already laid the foundation in philosophy and James in both philosophy and psychology. Building on these, John Dewey was challenging absolute idealism with instrumentalism and pragmatism; while G. Stanley Hall in psychology, by presenting the evidence of scientific study, questioned many of the assumptions about child nature on which the Froebelian education was based. On leaving St. Louis, Susan Blow had seen the immediate work to which she had given so much of herself pass into what she believed to be alien hands and given a direction which she felt would spell ruin to the most important aspects of education for young children. She saw the very foundations upon which her work had been built threatened with collapse.

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[10] Susan E. Blow Letters (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).
[11] *Ibid.*

Leaving St. Louis was climactic for Susan. A sharp dividing line had been drawn between a portion of her life spent in a single environment with intensive detailed work in teaching, organizing and administrating kindergartens and one that was to be lived over a wide geographic area with lecturing, writing and organization work. But even sharper was the dividing line between an earlier life spent largely in *developing* the kindergarten and a later life concentrated on the herculean task of *maintaining* what she had struggled so hard to achieve. With complete disregard of personal interests, with improved but far from perfect health, Susan Blow confronted the challenge of the "new" philosophy and psychology, determined to defend her convictions, come what may.

Her first step was to call a meeting of thirty kindergartners who shared her ardor and principles. They gathered in her home at Cazenovia and laid their plans. This was in 1894 at the age of fifty-one and the beginning of a new life for Susan Blow. From then until her death Susan Blow was the unconquerable champion of a cause toward which a changing world was to become increasingly indifferent and even hostile at times. The two major arenas in which Susan Blow would wage her battles were: the International Kindergarten Union and Teachers College, Columbia University.

A Clash of Ideologies in IKU

THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION WAS ORGANIZED IN 1892 at Saratoga Springs, New York. A list of its first officers is indicative of how widespread leadership in the kindergarten movement had become:

President—Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, San Francisco
First Vice-President—Miss Sarah A. Stewart, Philadelphia
Second Vice-President—Miss Laliah Pingree, Boston
Recording Secretary—Miss Mary McCullough, St. Louis
Corresponding Secretary—Miss Caroline T. Haven, New York
Treasurer—Miss Eva B. Whitmore, Chicago.[12]

While Susan Blow was not elected to a major office, she served as a member of the Advisory Board from 1895 to her death in 1916.

In the beginning it was believed that the IKU membership in general was strongly Froebelian in philosophy and practice; however from the start some leaders had been turning a receptive ear to other approaches. This is reflected in the absence of any mention of Froebelian or any other system in the aims adopted at the initial meeting:

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[12] Proceedings of the First Report of International Kindergarten Union, Saratoga Springs, New York, July 1892, p. 3.

1. To gather and disseminate knowledge of the kindergarten movement throughout the world
2. To bring into active cooperation all kindergarten interests
3. To promote the establishment of kindergartens
4. To elevate the professional training of kindergartners.[13]

The Yearbooks of International Kindergarten Union are admirable documents in their detailed reporting of speeches, discussions, committee work, personal items and business. Study of the Yearbooks makes obvious the growing differences, the variations in interpretation, the modifications in the original Froebelian methodology that were taking place.

The Yearbooks portray, often dramatically, not only differences in point of view among the members and the ardor with which they defended their positions but also their efforts to find common ground and to minimize their differences. Zealots as many of them were, no matter how feelings mounted they were always courteous; they were always "ladies."

At the 1898 meeting the differences came out sharply. Susan Blow was the most popular speaker, "received with waving of handkerchiefs and enthusiastic applause" as she urged "a closer study of Froebel, an introspective rather than a physiological approach to the study of children, emphasis on the universal rather than on the individual since individuality separates, and a broad culture in the humanities." [14]

A press notice at the time gave a more graphic account:

> The breeziest greeting of the day was that given to Miss Susan E. Blow. . . . She was armed to mow down some new-fangled notions labelled "Progressive," and she slashed them right and left with bristling weapons to the delight of the convention. . . . She believed in the old introspection. She ridiculed the absurdities of mathematical measurements of psychological facts and declared that under this physiological psychology experiments with children became the teacher's sport. . . . She didn't object to looking to individual characteristics, but it was on the basis of what was universal, along the basis of the common humanities alone, that it was possible to educate the child, and it was not on the narrow basis of his own individual idiosyncrasies. The criticisms made by Miss Blow delivered with her particular

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[14] Report of Fifth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Philadelphia, 1898, p. 15.

> emphasis carried the Convention off its feet, and the applause was long.[15]

This newspaper account caught both the major convictions and the spirit of the education Susan Blow was devoting her life to defend. It also clearly stated the main position of her increasing number of opponents—the inductive, scientific study of individual children from which generalizations would be formulated as guides to a method of education.

In the next two years when Susan Blow was unable to attend the meetings of IKU she sent papers to be read, and each time they were loudly applauded. This was specially marked at the 1901 meeting when Miss Hart's reading of Susan Blow's paper was continuously interrupted by applause as she spoke of the Froebel "Gifts," planned with deepest insight into the human soul; when she asked, "Should we leave the 'Gifts,' because we have failed to grasp the ideal?" And when she declared, "A good sound dose of philosophy clears the reason . . . the 'Gifts' appeal to the infinite thought." [16]

By 1903 controversy had reached the point where it seemed important to issue a statement setting forth the agreements and differences in philosophy within the membership. Susan E. Blow, Alice H. Putnam (Mrs. Harvey Putnam) of Chicago, and Lucy Wheelock of Boston were appointed a committee to choose a committee of fifteen, including themselves, "to formulate contemporary kindergarten thought." [17]

The fifteen were chosen, and later additions brought the membership to nineteen:

Susan E. Blow
Mrs. Maria Kraus-Boelte
Fanniebelle Curtis
Laura Fisher
Alice E. Fitts
Elizabeth Harrison
Caroline M. C. Hart
Caroline T. Haven
Patty Smith Hill
Mrs. James L. Hughes
Annie Laws
Mary C. McCullough
Dr. Jenny B. Merrill
Harriet Niel
Mrs. Mary B. Page
Mrs. Alice H. Putnam
Nora Smith*
Anna Stovall*
Mrs. M. B. B. Langzettel*
Nina C. Vandewalker
Lucy Wheelock

The Committee occupies a position of importance in the history of American education under the designation, "The Committee of Nineteen." The chairmanship shifted from time to time, but Susan E. Blow was its first chairman and served for many years in that capacity.

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[15] *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 13, 1898 (Clipping in an old notebook, unidentified, in Wheelock College Archives, Boston).

[16] Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the International Kindergarten Union, Chicago, 1901.

[17] Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the International Kindergarten Union, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1903, p. 38.

* Nora Smith resigned some time after the appointment of the committee; the place was filled successively by Miss Stovall and Mrs. Langzettel.

Year after year the Committee reported, and although similarities continued to be emphasized, it was evident that differences were increasing and more confidently expressed. In 1909 the differences were frankly acknowledged. Instead of a single report, three reports were given, one from each of the subdivisions into which the original Committee had divided: Conservative, Liberal and Liberal-Conservative. The soul-searching to which these earnest women had subjected themselves in coming to their decisions is indicated by the fact that four signed both Liberal and Liberal-Conservative reports.

The report was published in 1913 [18] with a Preface by Lucy Wheelock, chairman of the Editing Committee, and an Introduction by Annie Laws, then chairman of the Committee of Nineteen. The three reports are signed by the members of the subcommittees, which have dropped the original names to the less definitive ones of First (Conservative), Second (Liberal) and Third (Liberal-Conservative):

First Report

Susan E. Blow, Chairman
Maria Kraus-Boelte
Ada Marean Hughes
Alice E. Fitts
Mary C. McCullough
Caroline M. C. Hart
Laura Fisher
Marian B. B. Langzettel
Harriet Niel
Fanniebelle Curtis

Second Report

Patty Smith Hill, Chairman
Caroline T. Haven
Mary Boomer Page
Jenny B. Merrill
Alice H. Putnam
Nina Vandewalker

Third Report

Elizabeth Harrison, Chairman
Maria Kraus-Boelte
Lucy Wheelock [19]

Besides the changes in thinking developing over the years as indicated in the above names given to the subcommittees, the lists suggest something of liberalizing of the conservative view. Maria Kraus-Boelte, for example, signed both the third and first reports, explaining in a footnote that she endorses the third report "as truly Froebelian and progressive, particularly in what is said of the schedule"; and in signing the first report she also adds a footnote to indicate her disagreement "with a detailed program for the year and the general arrangement and decoration and opening of the kindergarten for the year." Miss Fitts adds a note to her signature of the first report that she agrees with the theory but "differs from its application." [20]

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[18] *The Kindergarten*, Reports of the Committee of Nineteen on the Theory and Practice of the Kindergarten. Authorized by the International Kindergarten Union (Boston, New York, Chicago: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1913).

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 294, 301.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 301.

The three reports differ widely in length and treatment. The first covers 237 pages and is highly philosophical; the second of 61 pages is scientific and practical; the third is a concise statement of a mere 5 pages in the nature of a credo.

The first three of the four parts into which Susan Blow's report is divided are theoretical and represent her interpretation of the philosophy upon which Froebel formed his entire structure of the kindergarten:

1. The Concept of the *Gliedganzes* (the unity of the whole through the relation of its members)
2. The Definition and Order of Educational Values
3. The Genetic-Developing Method.

In the fourth part of the report she describes in detail an ideal program for a year as based on the preceding three theoretical parts.

Rather than attempt the practically impossible task of summarizing the report, even though Susan Blow provided a summary at the end of each part, a few excerpts will be given as illustrative of the interpretation of Froebel upon which she based her teaching:

> *On the Gliedganzes*
>
> Each individual human being is an incarnate paradox. He is an integral part of humanity. He is also ideally coexistensive with humanity. The conception of the *Gliedganzes* embodies final truth which may be dialectically demonstrated.
>
> Humanity is implicit in each individual of the race. This implicit humanity is divine. To make the implict divine explicit is the goal of education.
>
> *On Educational Values*
>
> The first great value, *Religion:* Religion, conceived as the mystic experience of God transcendent, immanent, and incarnate is the supreme educational value. . . .
>
> The second great value, *Ethics:* Personal responsibility and its correlate of free reality, or real freedom, are the whole foundation on which our enlightened civilization stands; and the voice of aspiring and successful man as he lives and acts in Europe and America speaks ever more and more plainly the two magic words of enthusiasm and stability—Duty and Right.
>
> The third great value, *Language:* The final objective value of language is that through its adumbration of the form of subject objectivity it points us to God, in whom alone that form is completely realized.
>
> The fourth great value, *Industries and the Fine Arts:*
>
> *Industries:* Primarily and in truth man works that his spiritual, divine essence may assume outward form, and that he thus may be able to recognize his own spiritual, divine nature and the universal being of God. Whatever food, clothing and shelter he obtains thereby comes to him as an insignificant surplus.
>
> *Fine Arts:* The unifying principle of art is interest in a vital

> whole. . . . All works of art must not only reveal freedom, but must exhibit that organic character which results whenever manifold parts or elements are made instrumental to the manifestations of a single meaning or purpose.
>
> The fifth great value is *Mathematics:* We define mathematics as an exploration and projection not only of the contents of mind, but of the structure of mind, and therefore as a discipline of a completely realized self-consciousness as absolute first principle of the universe and towards the conception of man as duplicate of the divine form.
>
> The sixth great value, *Science:* While the ultimate aim of science cannot be realized in any definite time, we must be forever grateful to this great discipline for the bridge it has even now constructed between the conception of the cosmos as an interrelated totality.
>
> *On the Genetic-Developing Method:*
>
> The point of departure for all manifestations, all existence, all knowledge and insight is Doing, or the Deed. From the Deed, therefore, must true education proceed; in the Deed must it grow; upon the Deed must it found itself. . . . All true doing instructs, strengthens, creates, and is itself creative. . . . Life, deed, recognition, these are the three notes of a single chord. Self-activity is not only its own goal and its own standard, but its own method.[21]

In this, her supreme effort to expound her beliefs, as in all her writing and teaching, four words appear again as key notes: unity, *Gliedganzes*, self-activity, self-consciousness. Like Froebel, she makes many attempts at their definition. One feels, as one reads, her desperate struggle to clarify her meaning—at times almost amounting to despair of being understood.

The deeply religious tone of the report reflects the unity of her religious and educational beliefs, for Susan had finally resolved her spiritual conflicts in a passionate acceptance of Christianity. Her letters to Fanniebelle Curtis, her friend, show the depth of her religious commitment and its identity with her educational ideals:

> Avon, November 19, 1908
>
> My anxieties and terrors are for those who cannot fight their battles. . . . There is a peace in realizing that we have but one clear duty . . . fidelity to the truth as God gives us to see it. The issues are with Him.
>
> Cazenovia, October 9, 1912
>
> If it were not for religion I should be in despair about life. It is the deep mystery of the Cross which continually inspires me to new effort and stills in my heart a protest against the injustices of life. So you will know how thankful I am that you have decided to become confirmed. [Susan Blow had joined the Episcopal Church.]

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[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 11, 12, 14, 24, 27, 32, 47, 57, 60, 62, 137.

> Cazenovia, November 27, 1912
>
> The lectures I have been writing on St. Paul have brought me interior illumination, and there are many thoughts and visions I want to talk with you about. . . . The deepest thing into which I have new vision is the meaning of the Cross. I see as never before why it is our supreme symbol, and it gives me strength to love and courage to bear.[22]

Letters to her friends also reveal how much the attitude of the members of the Committee of Nineteen toward her report meant to her. Some express her anxiety over signatures. Two letters written to Fanniebelle Curtis before the Committee broke into subcommittees indicate this:

> June 15, 1908 [after discussing Miss Wheelock's and Miss Harrison's reluctance to sign]: I should stand for it if I stood absolutely alone.
>
> October 29, 1908: I hope Miss Wheelock, Miss Laws, and Miss Harrison will sign the report.

After the subcommittees had been formed, with Susan Blow chairman of the Conservative group, again she wrote to Fanniebelle Curtis:

> June 11, 1910 [after writing of the encouragement for the Conservatives after the last IKU Meeting]: I felt a little sorry for the Liberals but they have gotten a little more conservative themselves. After a while it may be difficult to tell which is which. Miss Harrison did not sign because of the anti-Herbart and anti-free play parts of the report. Patty Hill talks about educational values. I hope Miss Vandewalker is seeing some things.[23]

The Liberals may "have gotten a little more conservative themselves" was what Susan no doubt fondly believed. But never would Susan become a little more Liberal. Hers was a faith, a belief, to which every fiber of her being responded. In it was comfort, peace after turmoil. It could not be lightly relinquished.

While few of the Froebelians sounded the depths of philosophic thinking characteristic of Susan Blow, many owed their allegiance to the strong emotional appeal its religious quality held for them. The account of the St. Louis meeting of 1910 in the IKU Yearbook is expressive of the sentiment that marked many of the meetings of the Union:

> The Play Festival was a unique feature of the Convention and was a most delightful affair. Over 400 kindergartners dressed in white, led by Miss Blow and Miss McCullough, marched around the beautiful Liederkranz Hall. Miss Blow was then escorted to a seat of honor on the platform, and Miss Alice O'Grady took her place in the marching line, while all sang gaily, "We are soldiers of the Froebel Guard." It was most impressive to watch those who might be called the generals and the captains of the

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[22] Letters from Susan E. Blow to Fanniebelle Curtis (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).
[23] *Ibid.*

> "Guard," side by side with the young volunteers, all hearts thrilling together. After the march everyone sat upon the floor, forming three concentric circles around the large hall. At the first sound of the cornet all was quiet, and Mrs. Annie E. Choisel who, as a child, had been in the first kindergarten class taught by Miss Blow and who is now a teacher in the Blow School, sang in a clear, beautiful voice, *Die Wacht am Rhein*.[24]

One of the highlights in the history of the IKU was "The Froebel Pilgrimage" in 1911. Lucy Wheelock chaired the committee on the "Pilgrimage" and made her report on it at the 1912 meeting of the Union. She said that the Pilgrimage had been planned to give American kindergartners opportunity to meet other disciples of Froebel and to do honor at his grave. Every section of the United States was represented among the seventy Pilgrims. In Germany the number had been increased to ninety by representatives from European countries.

Miss Wheelock told how the Pilgrims came in touch with leaders in Edinburgh, London, Paris, Munich, Heidelberg, and Eisenach. She mentioned, in particular, the *Deutscher Froebel Verband*, a federation of sixty-eight different societies exercising leadership in German education; the exhibits of kindergarten work in Frankfort, Heidelberg, Dresden, Berlin, and the London Froebel Society on Bloomsbury Square; the *Union Familiale* with its social settlement kindergarten in Paris.

Miss Wheelock closed her report with a description of what was to her and, no doubt, to the rest of the Pilgrims the outstanding event:

> But the great day of the feast was August 6 when representatives from Germany, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, France, England, Scotland, and America stood together in Schweinau to pay tribute to Froebel's memory. With wreaths of laurel, emblems of victory, and the fair flowers he loved, villagers and visitors covered the grave. In the silence after the impressive service one could almost hear the voice of Middendorf [friend and coworker of Froebel] speaking:
>
>> "Froebel sleeps not. He lives in the minds of those in whom he has awakened a striving like his own."
>
> May the Froebel Pilgrimage contribute in some degree to such immortality![25]

Blow and Hill at Teachers College, Columbia University

DURING ALL THIS PERIOD OF DEFENDING HER PHILOSOPHY IN THE International Kindergarten Union, Susan Blow from 1896 until the year of her death lost no opportunity to carry her message throughout the United States. In single lectures and consecutive courses in Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and even in Toronto,

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[24] Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, St. Louis, 1910, p. 155.

[25] Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, Des Moines, Iowa, 1912, p. 77.

Canada, she promulgated the teachings of Froebel. Everywhere the depth of her thinking, her conviction, her enthusiasm stimulated a warm response in her audience. But at Teachers College, Columbia University, she met the challenge in open lecture with Patty Smith Hill, her powerful opponent in the Committee of Nineteen.

Mary D. Runyan had been the kindergartner at Teachers College since she left the St. Louis Public Schools with Susan Blow in 1884. From 1896 Susan Blow had given a series of lectures at Teachers College. Together they had made the College another stronghold in the preparation of Froebelian kindergartners.

Much of the success of Dean James Earl Russell's administration of Teachers College, Columbia University, was due to his unfailing confidence in the open conflict of honest minds in the pursuit of truth. He searched for faculty members of divergent points of view. Aware of two major opposing views in the kindergarten field, with his own institution strongly entrenched on one side of the argument, he decided that the other side, too, must be heard. Having in Susan Blow the acknowledged leader of the Froebelians, he appointed Patty Smith Hill, this young Southern innovator rapidly becoming a leader among the advocates of the "new" approach, to come to Teachers College and have Blow and Hill battle out their differences.[26]

In proceeding on this bold course in faculty selection, Dean Russell never acted rashly. Characteristically, his first invitation to Patty Smith Hill was for a two-week period only. He showed his sagacity, too, in the topic, "New Trends in Kindergarten Education," which he had selected for the series of ten lectures for Patty Smith Hill to give preceding the Blow and Hill lectures. He was not disappointed. From the first to the last meeting the large lecture room in Thompson Hall was crowded to the doors.

Tactfully beginning with "The Use of Froebel's 'Gifts' and Outside Material," the area in which the greatest modifications in the Froebelian kindergarten were under way, Miss Hill made increasing contrasts between the old and the new as the ten lectures progressed. Finally, in the last lecture, "The Significance of Progress and Conservatism in the Kindergarten," she forcefully made a case for her point of view.

But the jointly given course was indeed to be a supreme test for both Miss Blow and Miss Hill, for Professor John Angus MacVannel, head of the Kindergarten Department, backed by Dean Russell, asked nothing less than that they give a course jointly. The course was given, shared as planned:[27]

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[26] M. Charlotte Jammer, "Patty Smith Hill and Reform of the American Kindergarten" (a Doctor of Education Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960), p. 97.

Oct. 26	Work and Play in the Kindergarten	Miss Hill
Nov. 2	Representative and Experimental Play in the Kindergarten	Miss Hill
Nov. 9	The Place and Limitation of Domestic Work in the Kindergarten	Miss Hill
Nov. 13	Kindergarten Music	Miss Hill
Nov. 16	Rhythm in the Kindergarten	Miss Hill
Nov. 20	The Free Play Program	Miss Blow
Nov. 23	Ideals in the Kindergarten	Miss Hill
Nov. 27	The Herbartian Program	Miss Blow
Dec. 4	The Mixed Program	Miss Blow
Dec. 7	The Relation of Nature Study, Art, and Dramatic Expression	Miss Hill
Dec. 11	The Froebelian Program	Miss Blow
Dec. 14	Some Tendencies in Kindergarten Programs	Miss Hill
Dec. 18	A Path-Breaking Idea	Miss Blow
Dec. 21	The Educational Value of Humor	Miss Hill

All the most controversial issues of kindergarten education of the time were brought to the surface, attacked and defended by these two fearless and vigorous minds. The major issues were:

1. Opposing interpretations of work and play
2. Herbartian theories of interest and apperception
3. The relative merits of free and directed play.

They sat in on each other's lectures, participated with the students in their discussions, lived in the same hotel, and in the evenings talked over and planned their lectures together. Later, Miss Hill commented, "It's a wonder the class survived!" Probably her good-natured sense of humor as exhibited in the choice of topic for the closing lecture had no little to do with the success of the venture. That the students not only survived but thrived on the confrontation was indicated by their enthusiasm.

From 1905 to 1909 Susan E. Blow and Patty Smith Hill continued to give courses together. It gradually became evident that in spite of the respect the students had for her profound philosophical thinking, Miss Blow was losing ground. Susan herself was aware of this and it was shown in occasional allusions in letters to her close friends. The following are excerpts from letters to Fanniebelle Curtis:

> Undated:
>
> Am I wasting my time at Teachers College?
>
> What do you think of the plans at Teachers College? I am thinking some pretty serious thoughts, and you will have to help hard to make me feel it is right to stay there.

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

> I am finding it simply impossible to get the class at T. C. to conceive Froebel's ideal because they nearly all have the idea that I am standing for a formal, arbitrary, and unpsychological procedure.
>
> June 15, 1908: What we need now is a young leader. Anything I can say now or hereafter will be disposed of not by meeting it with agreement or disagreement but simply by depreciating it with the statement, "Miss Blow is old." So our young Froebelians must rise in their might![28]

Nor was it easy for Patty Smith Hill. But Patty had the advantage of youth, a ready wit, charm, and above all that freedom from dogmatism that gave credence to her frequent statement that she did not have the answers but was seeking them.

Years later at the memorial services for Susan E. Blow held at the International Kindergarten Union Annual Meeting in Cleveland in 1916, Patty Smith Hill in paying her tribute recalled those days at Teachers College, Columbia University:

> The highest tribute I can pay to the talents and nobility of this great leader is, that through all those days of "friendly warfare," never an unfriendly word or act passed between us. I look back upon those rich days with genuine pleasure and gratitude, for I learned much from her by her keen criticism and by her generous attitude toward an opponent many years her junior.
>
> At the closing class hour, when Miss Blow and I were bidding farewell to the class we had taught in common, one of the class rose to speak for herself and her classmates, saying that the greatest thing they had learned from the semester's work was that women holding diametrically opposed views could work together with mutual respect, fair play, and friendliness.[29]

Truly a fine tribute, only possible from one large-souled person to another! But one wonders if Patty knew that under the disciplined self-control of Susan there was the deep hurt of one who saw the cause for which she had spent her life, the philosophy to which she had given her unshaken loyalty, go down in her closing years before a new era in which idealism was to give way to realism and faith to experimentation.

Interpreting in Writing

WITH ALL SUSAN BLOW'S LECTURING AND TRAVELING SHE STILL FOUND time to write. Lizzie Lee Kirk of St. Louis has compiled a bibliography by and about her. There are 108 pieces *by* her and 231 *about* her.[30] The contrast between the two major periods of her professional life is reflected in Miss Kirk's list. During the St. Louis period her writing was confined almost entirely to annual reports to the Board of Education and to the materials she prepared for students and teachers. All her books, as well as the bulk of her journal articles, were produced during the second period. Six major books were produced:

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[28] *Op. cit.*, Blow, Letters to Fanniebelle Curtis.

[29] Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, Cleveland, Ohio, May 1916, pp. 113-114.

[30] Lizzie Lee Kirk, A Bibliography of Materials by and About Susan Elizabeth Blow (Board of Education, St. Louis, 1961).

1890: *A Study of Dante.* New York and London: G. P. Putnam Sons.
1894: *Symbolic Education, a Commentary on Froebel's Mother Play.* New York: D. Appleton and Co.
1895: *Mottoes and Commentaries of Friedrich Froebel's Mother Play.* New York: D. Appleton and Co.
1895: *Songs and Music of Friedrich Froebel's Mother Play.* New York: D. Appleton and Co.
1899: *Letters to a Mother on the Philosophy of Froebel.* New York: D. Appleton and Co.
1908: *Educational Issues in the Kindergarten.* New York: D. Appleton and Co.

As early as 1885 William Torrey Harris suggested that Susan Blow prepare for publication the lectures on the *Divine Comedy* she had given to her advanced St. Louis classes. She expressed reluctance to appear in print on so epic a theme, but her friends finally persuaded her to undertake the task.

As Susan Blow brings out the identity she feels for Dante's interpretation of Christianity with that of Froebel's philosophy, one can readily see the hold that Dante had on her and other thoughtful Froebelians. At times she even introduces Froebelian concepts in her exposition of Dante:

> God is *self-activity;* man is made in His image: hence, all that is active rejoices the soul; all that is passive palls upon it. Through feeling he (man) rises into thought, and finally expresses the concrete *unity* of thought and feeling in the acts of conscious will.
>
> In the organic *relationship* of the *individual* to the social *whole* is grounded the possibility of spiritual development.
> The ascending insights of Paradise are God in the universe—God in the individual—each individual in every other—all individuals in God . . . in God we live and move and have our being.[31]

The parallel is fundamental, for in the *Divine Comedy* is found in noblest expression the heart of Froebel's aim of education—the ascent of man to the Absolute, to God.

That so much of her writing should deal with Mother Play is indicative of Susan Blow's preference for these materials over and above the "Gifts" and "Occupations." This is to be expected, since the direct social and ethical implications of Mother Play would make a powerful appeal to her philosophical temperament. Moreover, she shared Froebel's deep feeling for importance of motherhood, for far-reaching effects of early relations between mother and child, and for supplementary roles of mother and teacher in a child's education. She writes:

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[31] Susan E. Blow, *A Study of Dante* (New York and London: G. P. Putman Sons, 1890), pp. 29-32.

> Froebel would learn from mothers and their instinctive wit: he would lift this to self-consciousness, and they would learn from him.[32]

Mottoes and Commentaries, Songs and Music and *Letters to a Mother* contain translations of the Froebelian songs and games of his original *Mother Play*, some by Susan Blow and some by other kindergartners, students, writers and musicians. In addition, the *first* contains background material on Froebel's philosophy and method. The *second* is a collection of the materials to be used with children, a children's book. The *third* is a simpler version of the first and, as the title indicates, is intended for mothers. The *fourth*, *Symbolic Education*, is the most theoretical of the four dealing with the Mother Play and is generally considered Susan Blow's best interpretation of Froebel.

Educational Issues in the Kindergarten, the last complete book Susan Blow wrote, is very different from her other books. Instead of expressing her convictions or interpreting Froebel, she is controversial, facing squarely up to the issues dividing the world of childhood education. Herbartianism, free play, the methodical treatment of literature, the industrialization and socialization of the school—she describes them all with objectivity, and with the strength of a keen and analytical mind she disposes of them with impeccable logic.

Susan Blow's books were not written without the doubts and struggles of a modest writer holding the highest standards of craftsmanship. This is evident in letters to her friends, particularly to Dr. Harris for whom she maintained throughout life the respect a student would have for a revered teacher. On October 16, 1891, she wrote him, "You must know me well enough to be sure that I can never be hurt but only grateful no matter what you tell me about my work." [33] On January 20, 1892, "I am getting the feeling I had in St. Louis that I can only work freely when I know you will tell me when I go wrong." [34]

Mottoes and Commentaries, which involved quite a few writers, was particularly problematic. Humor, rare with Susan, seems to have come to her aid as she wrote Dr. Harris on April 13, 1895:

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[32] Susan E. Blow, *Mottoes and Commentaries of Friedrich Froebel's Mother Play* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1895), p. 25.

[33] Susan E. Blow, Letters to William T. Harris (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[34] *Ibid.*

> *Mottoes and Commentaries* is beginning to assume in my imagination the shape of one of those monsters in the fairy tales to whom afflicted kings have to throw all their dearest possessions. I have thrown into its maw all my time and strength, all the books I've wanted to read, all my friendly correspondence, all my new summer clothes, and saddest of all—all my manners.[35]

It was the mature Susan E. Blow of her fifties and sixties who found fruition for all her anxious searching through her writing. Probing the depths she clarified her thinking, and in finding expression for her ideas she experienced emotion that often amounted to ecstacy.

Tributes and Gratifications

SUSAN E. BLOW WAS NO LONELY DWELLER AMONG THE STARS. MUCH as the world of ideas was her natural habitat, she craved human companionship and was most appreciative of kindness shown her. At one time, a group sent her a bunch of red roses and she insisted, although ill, on writing a personal note to each member. Her letters often mention gratitude for little personal favors; similarly, she took time to find little gifts for her friends. However, two efforts to pay her tribute were declined.

One was the desire of the St. Louis kindergartners to honor Susan with an award. Evidently the suggestion or the leadership came from Mary C. McCullough. Susan, still smarting under the hurt of giving up her beloved work in St. Louis, wrote on April 15, 1890, an appealing letter to Mrs. Hitchcock imploring her to forestall the plan.[36]

Susan's refusal of the second effort to pay her tribute was in a very different tone. Due to her generosity, professional and personal, Susan's last years were spent, not in want, but in circumstances far removed from the wealth to which she had been accustomed. There was a movement in St. Louis, led by Mr. Solden who had succeeded William Torrey Harris as Superintendent of St. Louis Public Schools, to make a financial grant to Susan in honor of her work in St. Louis. Likely Mrs. Hitchcock had been asked to prepare Susan for this honor. Susan wrote the following to her:

> New York, April 12, 1908
>
> . . . it has always been a great pleasure to me to feel that I had given something to my country. I should lose this feeling if I accepted what Mr. Solden's letter proposes. It was, however, very kind of him to write it, and I can appreciate the kindness even though I may not wish (in case it were ever offered) to accept the gift.[37]

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[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Susan E. Blow, Letter to Mrs. Hitchcock (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[37] *Ibid.*

Her wishes were honored. Susan's roots were deep in St. Louis and these tokens of regard must have been comforting to her.

It must also have been gratifying to know the acclaim given to St. Louis as the first city to establish kindergartens as part of the public school system, and to her as its first kindergartner. She had the pleasure, too, of seeing the extension of publicly supported kindergartens in the 1880's into Indiana and Illinois through Dr. William N. Hailmann and his wife, Eudora; through Colonel Francis W. Parker in Cook County, Illinois; in California through Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, Mrs. Leland Stanford, Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst and Professor John Swett; of seeing in this same decade three other states, Vermont, Indiana and Connecticut, pass legislation making the establishment of public school kindergartens permissive.[38] She was to see, too, the National Education Association take up the cudgels for the kindergarten when, in 1891 at the Toronto meeting, the resolution was passed recommending that the different states secure the necessary legislation to enable communities to support kindergartens at public expense.[39]

A tremendous impetus was given kindergartens by the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893. Nina Vandewalker estimated that the unification stimulated by the preparation for the Exposition brought advances that ten years of effort could not have accomplished. In the report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1897-98, 189 cities of over 8,000 population were named as maintaining public school kindergartens, a figure said by the Commissioner to be much lower than the actual number due to difficulty in getting statistical information.[40]

There was a special reason for Susan Blow to take pride in the St. Louis Fair in 1904. With administrative foresight Superintendent Solden, when the Exposition was over, purchased a goodly amount of the exhibited materials to make the beginning of an educational museum for the public schools of St. Louis, the world's first school audio-visual department. He made sure of the effective use of these materials by appointing a capable and imaginative teacher, Miss Amelia Meissner, curator of the school museum. Under the slogan, "Bring the world to the child," artifacts from all parts of the world widened the horizons of the children. When the Educational Museum's name was changed to Division of Audio-visual Education, it was firmly established as a service center for children and teachers. Over more than a half century of existence there have been but two directors, Miss Meissner and Miss Elizabeth Golterman, the latter having retired in 1970. They had worked continuously to enrich the services to meet the changing needs of St. Louis' boys and girls.[41]

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[38] Nina C. Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1908), p. 194.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 195.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

Susan's early fears that articulating the kindergarten with the grades might result in formalizing the kindergarten by pressure from above may have been somewhat allayed by Mr. T. E. Spencer, Principal of the Irving School of St. Louis. He placed the first chairs and tables in the primary rooms, "getting children unscrewed from the floor," he said. Moreover, he added a piano to the first-grade room to aid children in the singing movements and the creative dance begun in the kindergarten.[42]

In the last years of her life, those battling years, Susan Blow missed the advice and support of her good friend, William Torrey Harris. He died in 1909, leaving Susan without his help during some of the most important professional controversies of her life. In the tribute she paid to him at the IKU Convention in St. Louis, April 27, 1910, she spoke unreservedly of some of the great moments of her life which she owed to him. Of her attendance at his lectures on Speculative Philosophy, she said, "He kindled a light which revealed Idealism and delivered it from Solipsism." She spoke of the afternoon when she found that he and she had been similarly inspired by Froebel, "That afternoon was the most solemn and resplendent in my whole life. . . . I beheld Eternal Reality . . ." Speaking of the debt of the kindergarten to Harris, she said, "He helped us see the wonderful circle of self-activity glowing as feeling, shining as intellect, and revolving as will."[43]

On February 14, 1916, Susan Blow wrote to Fanniebelle Curtis: "It has been a very hard winter on every one who cares for the kindergarten. Let us try to hope that out of the depths we shall emerge into clearer light and heightened energy."[44] On the day that this letter was written she delivered her last lecture. With her love of Dante it was most fitting this last effort should be *Paradiso*. As her friend Laura Fisher wrote of it, "It was as if she had begun her ascent into the empyrean."[45] On March 26, 1916, she died. After the *Paradiso* she had one more of a series of lectures to give for the Graduate School of the New York Kindergarten Association. Someone else read it for her.

It would be interesting to know if in those last years of her life Susan Blow ever speculated that a quarter of a century later the leaders of the educational philosophy that was supplanting hers would be faced with the same harassment she was suffering; that they would see still another philosophy challenging theirs; and that, most poignant, they would realize as she had that their followers in practice lagged far behind in philosophical understanding.

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[41] Elizabeth Golterman interview with the writer, 1967.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Excerpts from "The Services of Dr. Wm. T. Harris to the Kindergarten," tribute by Susan E. Blow, Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, 1910, pp. 123-143.

[44] *Op. cit.*, Blow Letters (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[45] *Op. cit.*, Fisher, *Pioneers of the Kindergarten*, p. 202.

Kate Douglas Wiggin well expressed the contribution of this brave, idealistic spirit animated by depth of insight and faith:

> Harris and Blow made St. Louis the best exposition of large public school kindergartens that the United States has ever seen. St. Louis was an electric fountain of influence. The metaphysical side of Froebel's philosophy was more developed there than anywhere else. Complete devotion to the work and enthusiasm that was unequalled anywhere until we later handed on the torch in San Francisco and from there up and down the Pacific coast. . . . Miss Susan Blow was an imperishable ideal for me from the time I first met her until she died in 1916. She was a vital force, at once intellectual and spiritual. Enthusiasm and magnetism issued from her in a veritable flood, if those who heard her had the trained intelligence and an understanding heart.[45]

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[45] Kate Douglas Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923), p. 132.

5

KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN (1856-1923)

Creative Teaching and Writing

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Kate Douglas Wiggin

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KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN (1856-1923)
Creative Teaching and Writing

A Creative Artist

REMINISCING ABOUT WOMEN WHO HAD DONE SO MUCH TO ESTABLISH the rights of young children in our land, Winifred Bain,* herself a leader in the generation following them, remarked in her discerning way: "They all charmed men; they all managed men; but men never married them." Kate Douglas Wiggin ** was the exception. She most certainly charmed men and managed them, the latter too adroitly to be obvious; she did marry twice and both times with happiness.

Kate Douglas Wiggin's life was identified with all degrees of human deprivation and affluence. In early years she knew the financial struggles that so often beset the well-born, well-educated but economically limited families in our society. In young adulthood she identified herself with the most deprived inhabitants of city slums through her work in the Silver Street Kindergarten of San Francisco. And in later years, with both wealth and fame of her own, she was often the center of admiring groups in the highest ranks of social, intellectual and artistic life in Europe and America. Her passion was life in all its forms with no distinction of high and low. Her love embraced all humanity, regardless of kind or degree, and extended to all living creatures.

The professional beginnings of Kate Douglas Wiggin—who was born in Calais, Maine, in 1856 and died in Harrow, England, in 1923—synchronized with the mature professional life of both Elizabeth Peabody and Susan Blow; and of both she sought guidance when she launched on her career as a kindergartner.

From most people the name Kate Douglas Wiggin brings the immediate response, *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* or *The Birds' Christmas Carol*. While it is true her popularity as a writer generally overshadows her contributions as an educator, the latter were substantial and interwoven with her productivity as a writer. In both she was the creative artist, and much of her writing was either for or about children or for teachers. Whether in story form or in essays interpreting Froebel, her writing reveals the same sensitivity to people as characterized her teaching.

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* Winifred E. Bain, former President of Wheelock College, Boston, had significant and varied leadership roles in IKU and the Association over the years.

** She is referred to as Kate Douglas Wiggin throughout the text despite the fact that her maiden name was Smith, and Riggs by a second marriage.

A considerable amount in the present chapter has been drawn from these sources: the autobiography, *My Garden of Memory*,[1] her work completed just before her death in 1923; *Kate Douglas Wiggin as Her Sister Knew Her*,[2] by Nora Archibald Smith and published two years after Kate's death; *Yours with Love, Kate*,[3] in 1952, and *Kate Douglas Wiggin, the Little School Teacher*,[4] in 1958, both by Miriam Mason.

Joyous Childhood: Roots of a Creative Future

KATE AND NORA WERE PROUD OF THEIR HERITAGE, EACH BEGINNING her biographical book with considerable detail about both sides of the family. Both families dated from the beginning of New England and were active in its building. As in Elizabeth Peabody's family, on the mother's side the tales were more of adventure, the Indian wars and the Revolution; on the father's side, the accounts were more of civic and professional service.

Robert N. Smith, the father, was a lawyer. Kate had a dim remembrance of him when he took leave for Philadelphia where he died when Kate was three. The mother lived until she was ninety-two and actively shared in her children's lives at all stages. She married Dr. Albion Bradbury, beloved physician of the countryside, when Kate was seven. The family lived for a short time in Portland, Maine, and then moved to Hollis, Maine, near the Saco River where the children put down their roots. Although they lived in many other places in the course of their lives, they regarded Hollis as home and eventually returned to it. Hollis became the setting of many of Kate's stories.

Philip was born in Hollis and the three children shared their early years there. It was a good life. The biographical books give many incidents illustrative of the kind of life one would wish for all children. The memories of the richness of her early years were a determining influence in Kate's desire to bring a good life to as many children as possible. As she said in an interview, "Those are the years that count most . . . the first ten years, in the stocking of our memories and the development of our imaginations, in the growing of all those long roots out of which springs real life—these do more for us than all the rest."[5]

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[1] Kate Douglas Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory, An Autobiography* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1923).

[2] Nora A. Smith, Kate Douglas Wiggin as Her Sister Knew Her (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1925).

[3] Miriam Mason, *Yours with Love, Kate* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1952).

[4] ——, *Kate Douglas Wiggin, the Little School Teacher* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1958).

[5] *Op. cit.*, Smith, p. 15.

Dr. Bradbury had made a froggery by damming part of the brook. The children spent many hours there—they had named the frogs—waiting for the polliwogs to grow legs. As Kate listened to the deep bass of the bull frogs, she decided to teach them to sing and developed a frog choir. Then there was the lamb that Dr. Bradbury had agreed to buy, after much pleading on the children's part, even though he thought the price, a dollar and a quarter, much too high. Kate conceived the idea of tying a white curtain under his chin and taking him out to pasture in order that bugs would drop into the bag and then be taken home to be nursed in "the bug hospital." Unfortunately the lamb had many misadventures, at one time having its tail drop off after being frozen and finally coming to an untimely end by choking itself in a rope. On this sad occasion Kate wrote in her diary—one that she had kept only a few months and never really developed—"He cost a dollar and a quarter and only lived two months!" [6]

The days had many farm chores—cooking, baking, cleaning, collecting eggs, going for the milk, sewing and mending. There were daily prayers and family Bible reading and attending meeting in the old Congregational Church that Kate, later, was to make famous in her tender Christmas love story, *The Peabody Pew*.[7] All shared in the activities, each member of the family carrying his responsibilities—chubby little Nora, Kate tells us, always toddling behind her, insisting on participating even beyond her strength.

After Kate had spent a few days at the village school, Dr. Bradbury decided that he had better take over the children's education. Kate, being the eldest, received the most direct instruction, she in turn passing on her new learning to Nora, and Nora to Philip. One of Kate's contributions to the home school was the compilation of a dictionary complete with full title page:

THE DOLL'S DICTIONARY
SMITH'S SPEAKER AND DEFINER
Hollis
Entered According to Act of Congress
1864

She was eight at the time.[8]

Though often interrupted in the midst of a lesson by a sick call, the good doctor's efforts were effective judged by the later success of his pupils. All went well with Kate except in arithmetic. She could not

[6] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, p. 26.

[7] Kate Douglas Wiggin, *The Peabody Pew, A Christmas Romance of a Country Church* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1970).

[8] *Op. cit.*, Smith, p. 21.

understand why 6 × 7 shouldn't be 67. In her diary she asked, "What good are multiplication tables? They don't make people happy, rich, heroes." These criteria, particularly the first, would seem to have determined many of Kate's activities throughout her life.

Hunger for companionship of their peers finally sent the children to the village school. Much of it was a dreary experience in bare, ugly rooms, severe teachers seated on high platforms and uninspiring teaching. No doubt this school was the prototype of the one in which the Rebecca of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*[*] was Kate suffering throughout. Kate insisted that in her books she used the settings she knew but never reproduced the people. However, a lot of Kate herself is in Rebecca.

The children were far from dependent on formal schooling for their education. They took care of it largely themselves through their eagerness to learn from whomever or whatever came their way. Willingly at the direction of her Sunday School teacher, Kate read a chapter of the Bible every day and Nora followed her lead, as usual. She and Nora had taught themselves to read and hungrily devoured the contents of the books from a dark brown bookshelf, reading many of them again and again. There were the fat, green, single-volume Shakespeare; the plum-colored Dickens grown limp with handling; and a miscellany of other books accumulating over the years in a family of readers. *Scottish Chiefs*, *Don Quixote*, *Arabian Nights*, *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, *Undine*, *The Martyrs of Spain*, *Gulliver's Travels*, Thackeray, B. T. Barnum, Kingsley, George Sand, Edgeworth rubbed shoulders in utter disregard for affinity or relationship. But they were infinitely satisfying to the curiosity of two little girls eager to step into unknown worlds.

Dickens was a favorite with Kate and she read his stories many times over. Imagine her excitement when she heard the great Charles Dickens was coming to Portland! If she could only see him! It was decided that Mrs. Bradbury should attend his lecture in Portland but that Kate was too young for such adult fare, especially considering the high cost of the tickets. However, as a special treat she would accompany her mother to Portland and then the next day to Charlestown to visit cousins.

However, as they were leaving Portland the next morning after the lecture—Kate had been put to bed before her mother left for the lecture, had made an unsuccessful attempt to sneak off to the lecture hall by herself—she noticed a crowd gathering around a distinguished-looking gentleman standing on the station platform. Having seen pictures of him,

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[*] Kate Douglas Wiggin, *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (New York: Grossett and Dunlap, 1903).

Kate was sure that it was Charles Dickens. But he did not board the coach in which Kate and her mother were sitting. This was too much for Kate. She must get close to him.

After a little hesitancy, Kate mustered her courage to ask her mother if she might explore the other coaches. Soon Kate located her hero seated with another man. She found a convenient seat facing Dickens, and she sat and gazed. To her delight, the man seated with Dickens left the coach and Kate quickly moved into the vacant seat. The famous author and the child fell into conversation (on Kate's initiative, of course), and about his books. It certainly must have been a surprise to Dickens to find in this benighted country, this unliterary America as he was later to describe it, a little girl familiar in every detail with every beloved character in his books and truly appreciative of his genius.

Looking back on the influence Dickens had on her, Kate wrote in her autobiography: "He had his literary weaknesses, I suppose, though faithful love will always blind me to them, but they are all dear, big, attractive ones, virtues grown a bit wild and rank." [10] Certainly there is much of Dickens in the sympathetic way, and yet with a light touch of humor, that Kate brings her characters to life. This is particularly true when dealing with the poor and lowly—the Ruggles family in *The Birds' Christmas Carol* [11] and of Patsy in *The Story of Patsy*, so reminiscent of the Cratchetts and Little Tim.[12]

Another childhood incident that had a profound effect on Kate was the death of Lincoln when she was twelve. Except for the leaving and returning of soldiers, the village of Hollis was remote from the scenes of the Civil War. But when the news of Lincoln's death came to Hollis, Kate found herself part of a grief-stricken community. As she listened to the stories of Lincoln's life which overshadowed all other conversation, for the first time Kate seemed to have found a hero outside the realm of literature. One judges from her account of what this meant to her that she had experienced one of those flashes of insight into what constitutes nobility of character that might well have been the beginning of her ever-developing understanding of the meaning and purpose of life. In recalling it in *My Garden of Memory* she wrote, "It was my first conscious recognition of the greatness of individual character, the first conscious stirring of admiration, hope, and love in my heart for something bigger than I had ever known, or heretofore, imagined." [13]

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[10] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, p. 43.

[11] Kate Douglas Wiggin, *The Birds' Christmas Carol* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1886, Memorial Edition, 1941).

[12] ——, *The Story of Patsy* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1890).

[13] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory* p. 17.

Youth: Inspiration, Enchantment, Reality

In 1874 when Kate completed elementary school there were few high schools, and very few indeed for girls. Families desiring secondary education for their daughters had recourse to the seminaries and academies for which Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher and Mary Lyon had so valiantly fought. Kate was to have a good sampling of these schools. Fortunately for the home-loving Kate there was one eight miles from Hollis, the Gordon Female Seminary. She attended it during the first academic year and distinguished herself in Latin, French, English and won a gold medal award for her recitation of "St. Agnes' Eve." Kate attributes growth in "vision, instinct, and wisdom" to Miss Mary Smith, her Latin teacher. The following winter was spent with relatives in Reading, Massachusetts, where she attended the senior class of the grammar school and the freshman class of the high school.

The Morrison Academy in Baltimore the next year gave her an experience which Kate regarded as having made an indelible impression on her development, one that acted as a stimulus, similar to the death of Lincoln, in stirring her to the depths of her potential for understanding life's meaning. This came through the influence of Dr. Richard Fuller, a Baptist minister of extraordinary magnetism and eloquence. Speaking of the inspiration he had been to her, she added, "However, I did not have to be converted. I was born with a simple faith, not to be discussed or argued about, but 'seemingly built into' the foundation of my being."[14] While it is highly questionable that she was "born with a simple faith," it is certain that the essence of true religion transcending the dogma that disturbs so many adolescents had somehow been "built into her." It is reflected both in her writings and in her teaching. It was not for Kate to go through the agonized seeking that beset Susan Blow before she found her "everlasting yea." Perhaps the difference lies in natures primarily intuitive or logical. Even in the spiritual side of Kate's nature a certain homely twist was present as when she adopted the motto: "Expect everything good, and some of it is bound to happen."[15]

The family decided that only the best was good enough for Kate's education as her talents became increasingly evident. It was agreed the best was Abbott Academy at Andover, Massachusetts. It was on the trip to Abbott Academy that Kate first heard of Froebel and Elizabeth Peabody. On her way she stopped at Gorham to visit her favorite teacher, Miss Mary Smith. They talked of the advantages Kate would have being near Boston. It was during this conversation that Miss Smith told Kate that one person she must be sure to meet was Elizabeth

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[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 53.

[15] *Op. cit.*, Mason, *Kate Douglas Wiggin, the Little School Teacher*, p. 19.

Peabody, the great exponent of Froebel's teaching in the United States. Kate had never heard of either, no more than Elizabeth Peabody had heard of Froebel before she met Margarethe Schurz; and it is fortunate that her first awareness of Froebel came through the sympathetic nature of Mary Smith.[16]

In the meantime, Dr. Bradbury's health, never good, had shown alarming symptoms of failing, and it was decided to pull up stakes and move to the mild climate of Southern California. The choice of Santa Barbara was also influenced by its land boom, which Dr. Bradbury thought might favor a good investment. In the meanwhile, Kate was to complete her studies at Abbott Academy before joining the family in Santa Barbara. As a result of the examination, Kate found herself a senior in literature, a junior in French and Latin, a sophomore in grammar, a freshman in history, and a poor risk for the preparatory department in mathematics.[17] Certainly this speaks well for the care taken by Abbott Academy in meeting the academic needs of its students. From the fond and appreciative way Kate speaks of her year at Abbott Academy, there was concern for other needs as well.

Another circumstance deeply to affect Kate's future was the presence of a young lawyer, George C. Wiggin, at the oral examination that Kate had to take to enter Abbott Academy. To put Kate at her ease, the examiners said that they would give her the most difficult subject first. This Kate quickly admitted to be mathematics, in which, after trying a number of ingenious but ineffective methods to solve a problem in cube root, she demonstrated her ignorance. She did no better in geography, even to floundering hopelessly among wild guesses as to which city was the capital of the United States. But when the examination came to literature, Kate fairly shone. She not only dazzled the men by her knowledge of the great literature of all ages but also by her dramatic recitation of line after line of Shakespeare. The young Wiggin was fascinated and thus began romance.

At the close of the year Kate set off for California in the company of a group of young Harvard graduates going West to seek their fortune. It was a gay and adventurous trip by train and this was the beginning of a generally gay, social life for Kate in California. For a while her most serious undertaking was voice lessons with a well-known musician. In the midst of the fun, horse-back rides, dances, teas, dinners, and no end of the gallantry of attractive young men, Kate received an unexpected and delightful invitation from Anne Louise Carey, the opera singer, to spend a month with her during her opera engagement in San Francisco.

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[16] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory* p. 53.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Miss Carey did not know Kate except through letters Kate had written to Miss Carey's friends, the Ushers. She had been so intrigued with the charm and originality of the writer that she determined to know her.

It was an enchanting month for Kate, one of friendship with Miss Carey and the singers of her company. Kate attended their daily rehearsals, all their performances, and became familiar with the operas in their repertory. The sojourn in the alluring opera world nearly decided Kate on an operatic career, particularly when the company applauded her one evening after she had sung "When the Cows Come Home"! She expressed her longing for a stage career in one of her "Yours with Love, Kate" letters as she always signed her youthful friendly letters to the Ushers, her friends: "What a thrilling thing to die on the stage with everybody weeping over you and angels on ropes coming down from the ceiling to carry you to heaven!" [18]

But this glamorous experience was short-lived. The land boom collapsed, the good Dr. Bradbury died, and the family was left with little finances but mortgages. It may have been the memory of these bleak days that caused Kate to have a mortgage the ever-present shadow that hung over Rebecca's Sunnybrook Farm. Out of necessity came important decisions. Philip went into business; Nora, who had graduated from Santa Barbara College, started teaching Romance languages; Kate began her dual life work of writing, teaching and promoting kindergartens. As usual, Kate took the lead in the family planning now so necessary. Her practical turn stood her well as she reviewed the mortgage situation and managed to retain a small mortgage-free home for the family by clever financial handling. This settled, she turned her attention to her own salable assets. She had always expressed herself easily in writing and had had considerable success in compositions at the several schools she had attended. So she would write.

She set to work and in short order produced a story, "Half a Dozen Housekeepers," and sent it off to *St. Nicholas*, the children's magazine. There was the usual wait of the aspiring young author for an answer but at last it came. Kate waved it excitedly before the family. "It's a check," she cried, "for one dollar and fifty cents!" Philip asked to see the check. Then, the grand surprise! Not a dollar and a half but one hundred and fifty dollars! (Figures were never Kate's long suit.) Thus began her literary career.

Peabody—Severance—Marwedel—Wiggin

KATE'S ENTRANCE INTO THE KINDERGARTEN FIELD WAS MORE FORTUITOUS than deliberate. Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, "Mother of Women's

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[18] *Op. cit.*, Mason, *Yours with Love, Kate*, p. 64.

Clubs," came to California at the age of seventy, with her husband and two sons to develop orange groves. Mrs. Severance had met Elizabeth Peabody on her return from her European kindergarten study "fully assured that she had solved the riddle of the universe," Mrs. Severance said. These words were not meant to be scoffing for Mrs. Severance, a reformer herself, had responded most enthusiastically to Elizabeth Peabody's enthusiasm for the kindergarten.

Mrs. Severance's interest in the kindergarten was further kindled by her meeting with Miss Emma Marwedel. Readers will recall that Elizabeth Peabody had persuaded her to leave Germany to further the kindergarten movement in the United States. After having attempted to develop a horticultural school on Long Island, urged by Elizabeth Peabody, Miss Marwedel established a kindergarten and training school in Washington, D. C. After visiting Emma Marwedel's kindergarten, Mrs. Severance was determined to bring Miss Marwedel to the West Coast to establish kindergartens in that part of the world. She asked Kate to help her find a good location for a training school in Los Angeles and become the first student. Why Kate? "Because," said Mrs. Severance to Kate, "you are musical, a good story teller, and fond of children. . . . You have the play spirit in you, but you also love to work." [19]

Kate would need one hundred dollars for tuition and twenty-five dollars for extras. Board and room would be provided by her living with Miss Marwedel. Kate was persuaded. In fact, she kindled to the idea and the family combined their resources in providing the funds. The school started in Los Angeles in 1876 with twenty-five children and three students. Kate was the first graduate.

Years later Harriet Howard, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois, sought information about Emma Marwedel from educators who had known her. The replies give a consistent picture of her as a person and a teacher, and from them we can glean the potent influence Emma Marwedel exerted on the future of Kate Douglas Wiggin as a kindergartner.

Elmer E. Brown, Chancellor of New York University, wrote on February 11, 1916:

> I have a fairly distinct recollection of Miss Marwedel as I knew her in her last years at Berkeley, California, in the last decade of the nineteenth century. She seemed to me wholly absorbed in the cause of the kindergarten. Her devotion to the kindergarten idea as it came from Froebel was very great while she held that it was an idea to be elaborated and adjusted to new conditions. She herself introduced modifications freely. . . . So far as the spirit and philosophy of the kindergarten

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[19] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, p. 91.

> were concerned, I am under the impression that she held more closely by the original system of its founder. . . .
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> In personal appearance she suggested an elderly German dame. In mind she was astonishingly alert and suggestive, and to talk with her or rather listen to her monologue, was an event of no small importance in the life of Mrs. Brown and myself. . . .[20]

It is obvious in Kate Douglas Wiggin's educational writing that she had taken thoroughly to heart Emma Marwedel's teaching that modification in materials and methods must be made but that Froebel's principles were sound even to the point of implementation.

Professor Will S. Monroe, the historian of education, wrote to Miss Howard (letter not dated, probably 1915 or 1916) as follows:

> . . . She was much of a dreamer with a philosophic cast of mind, and it was not very easy to follow her lines of thought. The late Professor Wilhelm Preyer of The University of Jena, who knew her in her early work in Germany, thought her much superior in scientific training to most of the kindergartners in Germany. . . . I think you may know that Miss Marwedel was keenly interested in what today we call the manual training movement, and in a score of other socio-educational matters. . . . I found her a very lovable old lady, with all the sentiment and idealism of the dreamy German philosopher. . . . She surprised me by her acquaintance with the recent German literature of child psychology, and I got the impression that she was more of a student of the scientific aspects of child life than most of the American kindergarten leaders of a quarter of a century ago. . . .[21]

The name of William Preyer*—whose book, *Die Seele des Kindes*, published in 1881 and later translated into English, marks the beginning of the modern scientific study of children—appears frequently both in the text and in the list of references at the end of the chapters in Kate Douglas Wiggin's educational books. Not only does she refer to Preyer but it is evident that she became imbued with the scientific attitude so well exemplified by Emma Marwedel.

Nora Archibald Smith, in reply to Miss Howard's request, first referred to Professor Monroe and to her sister Kate as being better able to give information about Miss Marwedel, then wrote on November 7, 1915, as follows:

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[20] Elmer E. Brown, Letter to Harriet Howard, February 11, 1916 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[21] Will S. Monroe, Letter to Harriet Howard, November 8, 1915 or 1916 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

* *Editor's Note:*

Both Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and William Preyer (1841-1897) kept careful notes on the development and behavior of individual children over a period of years. These were the first significant efforts to get away from the speculative philosophical approach. Later questions raised about the nature of children were answered by results of scientific investigations, as those of William Preyer in Germany in 1881 and of G. Stanley Hall in United States 1883 when he published the study of concepts of children upon their entrance to school, *The Content of Children's Minds.*

> . . . I visited her private kindergarten in San Francisco often and have heard her lecture, though I never knew her well. My closest personal connection with her was meeting her accidentally in Washington at one time when we were both going to an NEA meeting in the South. It was hot summer weather, and dear Miss Marwedel was clad in a loose white wrapper of the shape we used to call "Mother Hubbard," with a black lace scarf over her white hair. All her traveling belongings were in an open mesh string bag constantly mislaid. I suffered much in mind and body in looking after her and escorting her to her destination. She was most agreeable and interesting in conversation, and I mention the incident merely to show you the kind of person she was—quite oblivious to ordinary details. She was an unusual woman I should say and, after her first knowledge of the kindergarten, completely absorbed in it. . . .[22]

While there is no letter from Earl Barnes to Miss Howard, he wrote a chapter on Emma Marwedel in *Pioneers of the Kindergarten in America*.[23] In it he speaks of:

> . . . The instant respect commanded by her fine eyes . . . her negligence of dress . . . her eagerness to be of service to the world . . . her role as a typical educational reformer in schemes of world regeneration through education . . . her wide reading . . . her intensive thinking . . . her impracticality . . . how children trusted her . . . her being a lady and a scholar.

In closing Earl Barnes writes:

> As a wandering teacher and scholar she must have touched many lives and in spite of failure she always remained a distinguished woman and her indomitable spirit never failed.[24]

Kate Douglas Wiggin wrote to Miss Howard on January 7, 1916. As a kindergartner who, probably more than any of Miss Marwedel's students, served to keep alive the spirit of this profound thinker, Kate's appraisal is of particular interest:

> Miss Marwedel left Washington where she had a flourishing kindergarten—but not a very distinguished patronage—for Los Angeles where she had one good friend, the very fine well-known woman, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance. Her hope was to realize Froebel's ideal in that perfect climate. I went from Santa Barbara and joined her first school of three members.
>
> Miss Marwedel was an idealist, very impractical, and absolutely destitute of business ability. But she was a noble woman, unselfishly and deeply in love with her vocation. She never lost her

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[22] Nora Archibald Smith, Letter to Harriet Howard (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[23] International Kindergarten Union, Committee of Nineteen, *Pioneers of the Kindergarten in America* (New York and London: The Century Co., 1924), pp. 265-269.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

> German accent, and when she lectured on Mother Play or the metaphysical side of Froebel she was rather vague, but she gave her students a vision of sincerity and truth. As the free kindergarten work developed in California, she was not prominent simply because it was difficult for her to "get on" with school records and organization. She was not perhaps a great teacher where dull people were considered. They never understood her.[25]

In a way Emma Marwedel was like Susan Blow in her philosophical nature, so difficult for lesser minds to understand. Susan Blow enjoyed a well-established place in our culture, while Emma Marwedel was handicapped in having to find a place in a culture alien to the one in which she had been reared. In addition, her flow of ideas was often blocked by having to express abstruse thought in a foreign tongue. Hers was a wandering life, wrought with high ideals and disappointments. America, her promised land, as it was to so many of those ardent, freedom-loving German followers of Froebel, had failed her. But had it? The Kates among her students gave the response in understanding her deeper self and that is the great reward of a teacher. Time and time again, when one found echoes of that great spirit in the work of Kate Douglas Wiggin, one cannot count the life of Emma Marwedel a failure.

After finishing her training with Miss Marwedel, Kate started a private kindergarten of her own in a little house in Santa Barbara. With Kate's imaginative touch she called her kindergarten "The Swallow's Nest." However, she was there only a year when she was called to participate in the free kindergarten movement, the philanthropic endeavor of many high-minded, socially conscious thinkers of the time who saw in the kindergarten a way of improving the life of the poor and downtrodden and, through an early start with children, of eventually regenerating society. Felix Adler, head of the Ethical Culture Society with headquarters in New York, was one of these. Like Mrs. Severance, he was ambitious to bring the gospel of the kindergarten to the West Coast. In 1878 he went to California to solicit funds to establish kindergartens there. The people of California responded generously, and very soon there were sufficient funds to establish the first free kindergarten on the Pacific Coast. On Miss Marwedel's recommendation, Felix Adler chose Kate Douglas Smith to be its teacher.[26]

Kate decided that if she were to undertake this responsibility she must first travel East to consult with Miss Peabody. In *My Garden of Memory* Kate tells of her cordial letter from Elizabeth Peabody in response to hers asking permission to discuss plans with her. Elizabeth wrote that, while East, Kate must attend the lectures of the Concord School of

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[25] Kate Douglas Wiggin, Letter to Harriet Howard, January 27, 1916 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[26] Nina C. Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1908), p. 66.

Philosophy which was just beginning. Here she would meet all the elite . . . and learn about Buddhism. She added a P. S.: "You shall sleep in Charlotte Cushman's nightgown. She left it to me in her will." *

Kate goes on to tell of the chats after the lectures they had in the Concord graveyard where so many dear to Elizabeth were buried. One day Elizabeth passed her hands over Kate's ruffled curls and said, "Our young guest has developed much during this week. Another year she must be a real student, and I hope that her hair will be drawn smoothly back from her fine forehead." Kate further comments: "Every night that I spent in Concord was enriched by the conversation of that noble and venerable woman, Elizabeth Peabody, the revered and eminent champion of childhood who has been instrumental in inspiring a greater number of mothers and educators than any other woman in her day." Later, after Kate had learned how Elizabeth had disposed of her birthday gift by giving most of it to Princess Winnemucca, she commented: "There are a few people (not so very many) who ought to be adopted by the world at large, and freed from every care." **

Silver Street in Tar Flats

THE SITE CHOSEN FOR THE KINDERGARTEN WAS ON SILVER STREET, A comparatively quiet spot in Tar Flats, one of the worst slum areas in San Francisco. The kindergarten occupied two rooms, the second floor of a wooden building. Twenty steps led to the first floor and a long winding stairway to the second. Kate spent the week before the opening in preparing the rooms and persuading the neighbors to enroll their children. She accomplished the latter by searching for needed supplies in the many cluttered stores that lined the streets. As she bought she talked about the kindergarten and what she hoped it would do for the children.

One day while she was busy making a home for the children clean and beautiful with plants, a canary, a bowl of goldfish, pictures and play materials, a thirteen-year-old girl wandered in from the neighborhood and shyly asked if she might help. She did help not only on that day but on many days with all the practical wisdom gained in her precarious upbringing in Tar Flats. Kate always spoke of her as "The Corporal." On one of these days of preparation Kate heard her tell a neighbor:

> . . . She can play the pianner standin' up or sittin' down, without lookin' at her hands to see where they are goin'. She's goin' to wear white, two a week. I tell her the children 'round here's awful dirty, and she says the cleaner she is the cleaner they'll

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* You will recall this was the actress Charlotte Cushman who outfitted Elizabeth Peabody in her theatre gowns on her first trip to Europe.

** *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, pp. 146-158.

> be. . . . No, 'taint goin' to be no Sunday school, nor no Mission, nor no Lodge. It's a new kind of school, that's all I know, and next Monday'll see it goin' full blast.[28]

A kindergartner today would be appalled by the undertaking. There were often as many as fifty children enrolled ranging from three to seven years of age from homes of squalor, drunkenness and bitter poverty. In the beginning Kate's only assistant was "The Corporal," at such times as she was able to free herself from other responsibilities. Then there were visitors, more than a thousand during the first eighteen months! Very soon after the kindergarten opened, Professor John Swett and Mrs. Mary W. Kincaid of San Francisco Normal School sent student teachers to Silver Street who, though inexperienced and an added responsibility, must have been a welcome help where so much was needed. Kate describes these early days with characteristic humor:

> My career was rather like that of the famous White Knight in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*. You remember that he fell off behind when the horse started, in front when it stopped, and now and then sideways for a change.[29]

Many of those days held plenty of discouragement for Kate. There were so many children who needed so much, and they were so different from any children she had known in her New England village or in "Swallow's Nest." She speaks feelingly of the help "The Corporal" gave her, as on the day the fire siren sounded soon after the kindergarten had been established. To her consternation every child except a few two- and three-year-old toddlers and one retarded five-year-old went pell-mell down the long flight of stairs, dashing to the fire. To increase her dismay as she ran after the children, along came a most dignified gentleman trustee. "The Corporal," fleet of foot, soon outran Kate and together they marshalled the children into line and back into the building.

Kate tells, too, of the time when, after a particularly trying day and with a severe headache, after the children left she had her head on her desk crying. It was thus "The Corporal" found her, comforted her and restored her to her usual buoyancy.

With all its ups and downs, the Silver Street Kindergarten won its way into the hearts of the people it served. Kate tells of the red-letter day when, threading her way through a squalid alley making visits to the children of her flock, she heard a loud voice ringing from an upper window of a tenement, "Clear things from underfoot! The teacher of the Kids' Guards is coming down the street!" In recounting the incident Kate comments:

> At last the German word has been put into the vernacular. The

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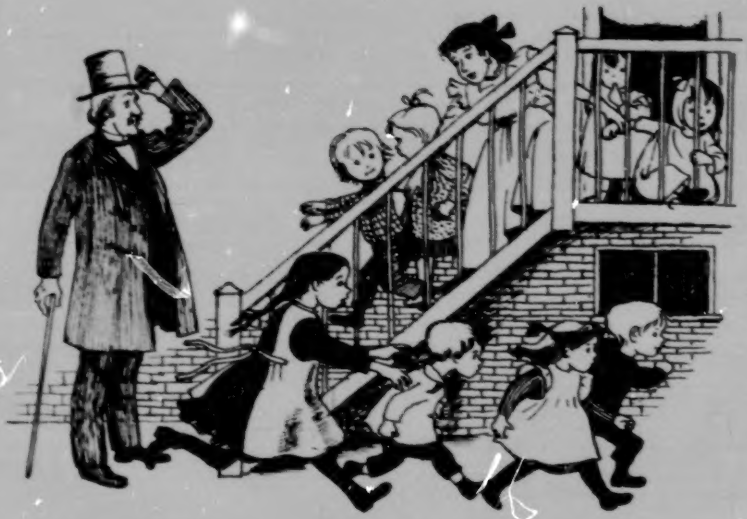
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 108.



"Where's the fire?"

> old foreign syllables have been taken to the ignorant mother by the lisping child, and the kindergartners have become Kids' Guards. Heaven bless the rough translation, colloquial as it is.[30]

In *My Garden of Memory* are found many instances such as the above attesting to the warmth of feeling and the deep love of people that sprang spontaneously from the heart of the Director of the Silver Street Kindergarten. This feeling is found in all of Kate Douglas Wiggin's stories for children, stories which won friends for the kindergarten wherever they were read. It is particularly true of *The Story of Patsy*. In this moving tale of the nine-year-old who came dirty, ragged, a mop of shaggy red hair crowning his head to ask to be admitted to the kindergarten, Kate has probably drawn her best picture both of life in Tar Flats and the life of a true teacher. Patsy pressed his claim for admission in spite of his nine years on his having "lost three years." The lost years had been spent crippled in bed after his father in a drunken rage had thrown him down the tenement stairs. The teacher is really Kate, though not so named, in her efforts to salvage this pitiable bit of humanity. We meet other children and their parents drawn from all quarters of the globe, each bringing his own urgent needs to seek refuge in Tar Flats. We watch Kate making her way through the cans, bottles and garbage of the yards—and these were the days of full-length skirts—and hear her silent wish that these children might have what she had had as a child:

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[30] Kate Douglas Wiggin (ed.), "The Relation of the Kindergarten to Social Reform" in *Kindergarten*, under auspices of The Board of Women Managers of the State of New York for the Columbian Exposition (New York: Harper and Bros., 1893), pp. 3, 4.

> I think of my own joyous childhood, spent in the sweet companionship of fishes, brooks, butterflies, birds, crickets, grasshoppers, whispering trees and fragrant wild flowers, and the thousand and one playfellows of Nature which the good God has placed within the reach of the happy country children. I think of the shining eyes of my little Lucy's and Bridget's and Rachel's could I turn them loose in a field of golden buttercups and daisies, with sweet wild strawberries hidden at their roots; of the merry glee of my dear little prophets and patriots if I could set them catching tadpoles in a clear, wayside pool, or hunting hen's nests in the alder bushes behind the barn, or pulling cow lilies in the pond, or wading for cat-o-nine tails, with their ragged little trousers tucked above their knees.[31]

Laura Fisher is not alone in what she said of Kate Douglas Wiggin's work in California:

> No single individual has done more to spread kindergarten influence and to gain friends for the cause than the author of *The Story of Patsy*. No kindergarten has enjoyed a wider celebrity and achieved greater success among the children and in their homes than the celebrated Silver Street Kindergarten conducted by Mrs. Wiggin and her sister, Nora A. Smith. The work done at Silver Street was the mainspring of all subsequent work in California.[32]

An early and influential outgrowth of the Silver Street Kindergarten sprang from a morning's visit by Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper. She was a deeply religious woman who devoted her life to philanthropy. The morning's visit revealed to her what she believed to be her great mission in life: "To lay the foundation for a better national character by founding free kindergartens for neglected children."[33]

In 1879 under Mrs. Cooper's auspices a kindergarten was organized and supported by members of her Bible class in a Congregational Church. It was located in a thickly populated district of corner saloons, small tenements and stores on Jackson Street, a slum similar to the one in which Kate Douglas Wiggin had begun her kindergarten work. All went well except for some concern in the congregation over the lack of religious teaching in the kindergarten. With children representing all manner of religions and none at all, Kate and Mrs. Cooper, religious themselves, were careful not to introduce anything sectarian into their programs. The spiritual quality of Froebel's teaching was clearly manifest in both kindergartens. But an orthodox deacon could not be convinced that Mrs. Cooper's Bible class had religious teachings. What was practically a heresy trial was held, with Mrs. Cooper the defendant. Among other teachers, Kate was called as witness and she referred to one of the well-known morning hymns of the kindergarten:

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[31] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *The Story of Patsy*, pp. 32, 33.
[32] *Op. cit.*, Vandewalker, pp. 66, 67.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.

> Father, we thank Thee for the night,
> And for the pleasant morning light.

The deacon came back at her with, "Of what value do you consider a prayer which does not mention the name of Christ?"

Kate's ready wit had an electric effect upon the audience as she saved the day with, "What do you think of the Lord's Prayer, sir? Shall I repeat it?" [31]

Rapid Growth of the Kindergarten in California

THE SUCCESS OF KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN'S AND MRS. SARAH B. COOPER'S kindergartens attracted wide attention and support. The press cooperated, particularly *The Saturday Evening Bulletin*, which weekly published articles by Mrs. Cooper on the kindergarten. These articles helped bring about the founding of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, which actively supported the original free kindergartens in California and their incorporation into the public school system. By 1900 it was estimated that the Association had received in legacies and donations not less than $500,000—much of which was from Mrs. Leland Stanford, whose legacies and endowment funds were first, and then from Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, whose contributions were equally generous. At the time of its greatest prosperity it supported forty-four kindergartens, and when Mrs. Cooper died in 1896 not less than 18,000 children had had the benefit of these kindergartens.

Mrs. Cooper's outstanding achievements attracted national attention. When the organization of an international kindergarten union was contemplated in 1892, Mrs. Cooper was asked to serve on the planning committee. On the establishment of the association, International Kindergarten Union, she was elected its first president. She continued an active member of the Union until her death in 1896. In 1898 the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association was admitted as a life member in Mrs. Cooper's honor, and tribute was paid to her as "one to whom the International Kindergarten Union will be forever indebted."[35]

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[31] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, pp. 128-130.

The annual reports of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association pay tribute to the many devoted workers of the beginning days of the kindergartens in California. The report of 1891 refers affectionately and appreciatively to the support given by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, the mother of William Randolph Hearst, in establishing free kindergartens:

> Hundreds of little children have been trained and blest in the Hearst Free Kindergartens since their establishment eight years ago. Hearst No. 1 has been the favorite rendezvous for the babies of the neighborhood. Many years, there have been no children in that kindergarten over four years of age; most of them only three; many two and two and a half; Hearst No. 2 was the overflow of No. 1. Hearst No. 3 was the overflow of No. 2. These are all lovely kindergartens supported by the generous bounty of Mrs. George Hearst.

Later in the same report is Mrs. Hearst's conviction that manual training held the solution for the plight of the poor:

> . . . not satisfied with what is already being done for the children, Mrs. Hearst in the affluence of a noble loving heart, proposed to found a school where the more gifted of the children can pursue their bent in the lines of manual industries and thus fit themselves to become skilled artisans. . . .
>
> We have long felt the need of a supplementary school of this kind. During the twelve years of our work many gifted children have developed genuine talent in the line of mechanical pursuits. From the obscure and poverty stricken homes of some of our little children many a gleam of native genius shines forth.[36]

Another of the early promoters of the kindergarten in California honored in the Golden Gate Kindergarten reports is Professor John Swett. The same Thirteenth Report tells how Professor Swett called on Mrs. Sarah Cooper soon after the Silver Street Kindergarten had started and said, "I know you take great interest in the education of children. You must see a wonderful, unique work that has been started on Silver Street for the poor children of that locality. It is well worth a visit at your earliest opportunity."[37]

The Tenth Report of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, 1889, refers to Professor John Swett as "this notable and noble educator . . . who may be called the Father of the Kindergarten System in California—

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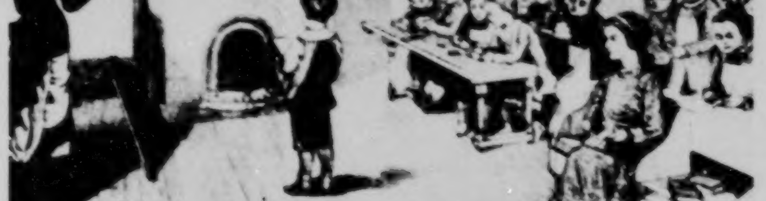
[35] Thirteenth Annual Report of Golden Gate Kindergarten Association. Yearbook ending October 6, 1892. World Fair Edition.
Note: This and subsequent materials are from Golden Gate Kindergarten Association reports supplied by Margaret Rasmussen, editor (Archives, Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, San Francisco, California).

[36] Twelfth Annual Report of Golden Gate Kindergarten Association. Yearbook ending October 1891.

[37] *Op. cit.*, Thirteenth Annual Report.

Hearst Kindergarten, Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, continued in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, after the 1906 fire.
From the Eightieth Annual Report, Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, 1879–1959.



Stanford Kindergarten, Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, San Francisco, 1884.
From the Eightieth Annual Report, Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, 1879–1959.

so constant has been his devotion to the work." An earlier report of 1880 records a special meeting called at the City Hall of San Francisco for the purpose of "laying the matter of engrafting the kindergarten system into the public schools. . . . Stirring addresses were made by Professor John Swett, Reverend Dr. Stebbins, Superintendent John W. Taylor, Judge Heydenfeldt, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, and Miss Kate Douglas Smith, all of whom strongly urged the adoption of the system by the School Board." A committee was appointed to investigate the matter and, as a result, two public kindergartens were established on an experimental basis. These were continued six years, after which the kindergarten became an integral part of the public school system.[38] It is interesting to note that in the Thirteenth Report this is found: "Is it any wonder that there was great rejoicing when Professor Swett was nominated Superintendent of Public Schools?"[39]

The work of these California kindergarten pioneers has been perpetuated in the Phoebe A. Hearst Preschool Learning Center, San Francisco. The trust fund inaugurated in the early years by Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, Mrs. Leland Stanford, Mary Crocker, and Miranda Lux has been continued in the Hearst Foundation of New York and the W. R. Hearst Foundation of California. Still supported by the Foundations, the Phoebe A. Hearst Preschool Learning Center conducts a nursery school for ninety children aged two to four and includes an Education Through Art Program for children from four to fourteen. It houses the largest collection of children's art in the world. Particularly noteworthy was the teaching and research in the field of children's art under the direction of Rhoda Kellogg.*

With such ardent workers and supporters as Mrs. Severance, Emma Marwedel, Kate Douglas Smith and her sister Nora, Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. Hearst, and John Swett, California became a fertile field for the development of kindergartens. In the 1880's and 1890's many kindergartens were established in Pasadena, Santa Barbara, Sacramento, Pomona, Los Angeles, San Diego, National City. "San Francisco was the first to write kindergarten into her city charter and carry two experimental kindergartens 1880-1886."[40] In San Jose the first WCTU ** kindergarten in the world was established and became a public school kindergarten in 1886, while by 1898 San Jose had seven publicly supported kindergartens. The movement toward publicly supported kindergartens was very rapid, and by 1901 kindergartens were part of the public school system in San Diego, Los Angeles, Pomona and Pasadena.[41]

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[38] Tenth Annual Report of Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, 1889.

[39] *Op. cit.*, Thirteenth Annual Report of Golden Gate Kindergarten Association.

* A brochure published in 1967 by the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association includes a richly illustrated and penetrating article, "Understanding Children's Art" by Rhoda Kellogg, former Director, Phoebe A. Hearst Preschool Learning Center, San Francisco.

[40] *History of the Kindergarten Movement in Western States, Hawaii and Alaska* (Authorized by ACE Committee of Nineteen, Barbara Greenwood, compiler, 1940), pp. 18, 20, 21, 23.

** Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Growth of Kindergartens on the West Coast

THE 1880'S AND 1890'S WERE A PERIOD OF STEADY GROWTH IN THE kindergarten movement all over the country, and the West Coast was very active. While this was the result of strong cooperative leadership, the Silver Street Kindergarten was a powerful impetus, particularly in the three coastal states.

The development followed, in general, the same sequence. First were the German kindergartens followed soon by others of American origin. Training schools were generally built around the latter. The American kindergartens were, first, private and were provided either for middle-class children or, if philanthropically supported, for the children of the poor. Free Kindergarten Associations were organized to stimulate the establishment of the latter, the "Free Kindergartens," and to finance them. Gradually, as communities became convinced of the value of the kindergartens they were made part of the public education system.

The story of the development of kindergartens in Seattle, Washington, is illustrative of these steps and, also, of the zeal of both professionals and laymen in the cause of early education.

Seattle was settled in 1851 and, while still a territory, there were kindergartens. Two were started in the same year, 1882, one German and one American. In Mrs. Frank Guttenberg's kindergarten "the day was opened with a little German song, and not a word of English was allowed to be spoken during the sessions."[42] * The English-speaking kindergarten was founded by Mrs. C. A. Blaine, who had come to Seattle from Boston and opened her school in a church basement with fifteen children ranging in age from three to six years.[43] In 1885 the first truly Froebelian kindergarten was established by Miss Grace G. Thorndike, a graduate of Kate Douglas Wiggin's Silver Street Kindergarten Training School.

The change of Washington from territorial to state status brought an influx of settlers from the East and Middle West, and with them came new influences on kindergartens. Among those who played an important role was Mrs. C. E. Dewhurst, who came from Pennsylvania and Chicago to Seattle. At her instigation the Seattle Free Kindergarten Association was organized in 1894. So enthusiastic and generous was the response of the citizens to the proposal of "Free" kindergartens that a school was opened in the fall and maintained during the trying years of the nation-wide depression and while the city was still struggling with its debt following a disastrous fire.

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[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-23.
[42] Angie Burt Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory* (Seattle: Lowman and Hanford Co., 1935), p. 226.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

* This and subsequent material on Seattle is furnished by Elizabeth Neterer, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

The school opened in a two-room public school building on Main Street. Miss Ellen Creelman, a graduate of Kate Douglas Wiggin's Silver Street Training School, was the teacher and director of the training school, holding the latter position until 1918.[14]

Miss Elizabeth Neterer, who was a student of Miss Creelman, wrote the following about the school:

> The two-room public school building was the old South School which was no longer used as a school but was rented to the fire department to house their horses. The ladies of the Free Kindergarten Association scrubbed the building and made it usable as a kindergarten. I knew some of the women who had scrubbed the stables and collected money for the Free Kindergarten. Mrs. Conning, one of them, told me that even her milkman gave her twenty-five cents "to help with the little kids." There was still a kindergarten in that building when I trained, although Miss Creelman had given up teaching kindergarten by that time.[15]

The Seattle Free Kindergarten Association incorporated and, in order to emphasize the educational rather than the charity aspects of the work, struck out the word "Free" from its name. A further step was taken in 1897 when the school board, through the efforts of the Association and the intelligent interpretation of educational principles by Miss Creelman, by unanimous vote made the kindergarten part of the public school system. Another important step was taken in 1919 when Helen Reynolds, head of the Seattle Department of Primary Grades, was made Executive Director of Kindergarten-Primary Grades. With her guidance the kindergartners produced *A Kindergarten Curriculum in Terms of Children's Activities*, published by Seattle Public Schools.[16]

As in Washington the first kindergarten established in Oregon was a private one, founded in Portland in 1881 by Mrs. Caroline Dunlop, also a graduate of Kate Douglas Wiggin's Silver Street Training School. Mrs. Wiggin visited Mrs. Dunlop in 1882 and gave a series of lectures on the kindergarten in Portland. The same year Mrs. Dunlop started another kindergarten and training school. In 1885 the Portland Training

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 447.
[15] Elizabeth Neterer, Letter to writer, November 15, 1967.
[16] *Ibid.*

School was affiliated with the Silver Street Training School. The first state-supported training school was started at the Oregon Normal School at Monmouth in 1929.

Kate Douglas Wiggin's visit also stimulated the organization of the Portland Free Kindergarten Association in 1882 and its immediate opening of three Free Kindergartens. In 1887 the Association secured enactment of its first kindergarten law. The Oregon Froebel Union was established in 1886 and worked with the Portland Association in continuous stimulation of interest in kindergartens. By 1917 there were four public kindergartens in Portland, and by 1929 public kindergartens had been opened in other parts of Oregon.[47]

Marriage, Travel and Writing

WHILE KINDERGARTENS WERE MULTIPLYING ALONG THE WEST COAST changes were taking place in Kate's life. In 1881 she married Samuel Bradley Wiggin, the young lawyer on the examining team of Kate's oral examination for admission to Abbott Academy six years earlier. She was now to be known as Kate Douglas Wiggin, the name she used in all her writing.

A year before her marriage she had decided to extend her activities to the training of kindergartners. In the fall of 1880 she opened her training school at the Silver Street Kindergarten with just four students, one of whom was her sister Nora. Nora had just returned from a two-year pioneering expedition of her own among the Spanish-speaking children of Mexico and Arizona. From then on Nora associated herself completely with Kate's work both in teaching and writing. After her marriage to Samuel Bradley Wiggin, Kate left the teaching of the kindergarten to Nora while she devoted herself mainly to the training school.

When her husband found a better opportunity in New York for his practice of law, Kate moved with him in 1884 leaving the responsibility for both the kindergarten and the training school to Nora. Kate kept in constant touch with the school and gave a course in the training school each winter. She was a student, too, during these years and visited the more notable kindergartens in the country—in St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Washington, Philadelphia, Boston—giving lectures, consulting with leaders, and taking back the fruits of these experiences to the West. Then the blow fell. Her husband died in New York during one of her teaching terms at Silver Street Training School in San Francisco.

Worn down with grief, Kate gave up her New York apartment and returned to California to make her home with her mother and sister. Hard work and travel had contributed to her exhaustion. She felt that she could no longer take the leadership in the Silver Street Kindergarten and turned the management over to Nora. She gladly left the responsibility with Nora, while she continued less strenuously her contacts with the children and the professional education of the students.

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[47] *Op. cit., History of the Kindergarten Movement in Western States, Hawaii and Alaska*, p. 45.

When after a year she was still tired and depressed, with the financial help a wealthy friend finally persuaded her to accept, Kate embarked on her first trip to Europe. This was but one of many that were to follow in the years to come. They brought her a new life as she made friends readily. At times she found herself in humble lodgings on the countryside and at others a guest in the baronial halls of aristocracy.

This new life stimulated Kate's writing in earnest. *The Story of Patsy, The Birds' Christmas Carol* and *Kindergarten Chimes* had been written as propaganda for the kindergarten and to replenish the treasury of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association rather than as literary efforts. Kate's creative energies had found many outlets, and she had had tempting offers after amateur performances in theatre and opera. In the year before her husband's death she actually wrote a musical fantasy, music and libretto, and performed it herself seated at the piano and singing all the roles to hilariously responsive audiences of friends. She entitled the production *Bluebeard* since it was based on the old gruesome tale of that name. It was meant as a good-natured farce poking fun at the earnest efforts of New York society to understand and appreciate Wagner. The dedication gives the intent:

To my friend
Walter Damrosch
Master of the art form
so irreverently treated
in these pages
Kate Douglas Wiggin

Walter Damrosch, at whose feet both young and old sat worshipfully as they strove under his guidance to "appreciate" music, was among those who enjoyed Kate's laugh-provoking satirical performance. Years after, Harper Brothers published both music and libretto in book form.[18]

Out of Kate's European travel experiences grew the Penelope trilogy centered in the British Isles, one book in England, the second in Scotland and the third in Ireland.[19] In these books three women—Penelope,

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[18] Kate Douglas Wiggin, *Bluebeard, a Musical Fantasy* (New York and London: Harper and Bros., 1914).

[19] ——, *Penelope's English Experiences* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1900).

——, *Penelope's Progress, Her Scottish Experiences* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1898).

——, *Penelope's Irish Experiences* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1900).

Francesca and Salomina—travel through the highways and byways of the countries visited, having adventures not given to those who travel more comfortably and more conventionally. Obviously, Penelope is the heroine and Penelope is, without doubt, Kate. It is Kate's love of people, understanding, sympathy, readiness to bear the discomforts of living with the lowly as well as enjoy the luxuries of the rich that give Penelope her charm. And these are all Kate. She herself, with that objectivity about herself that was one of her marked characteristics, gives a fair estimate of the why and the how of the Penelope books:

> There are but two ways to write books of travel or dissertations upon strange countries. One is to delve deep into social, political and racial conditions and find something new and illuminating to give to the world. This is the method of the scholar and presumes a talent for national psychology. My sense of humor saved me from my vast ambition. If anything unique or valuable was to be said about Great Britain—already somewhat familiar to the gentle reader—obviously I was not the person to say it. On the other hand, undeterred by friends who agreed with me that I could add nothing to the sum of human intelligence and who advised me, further, not to till old ground lest I be dull and trivial, my pen refused to be quiet but continually leaped from my desk and begged me to cast a happy, careless, fresh eye on the enchanting scenes among which I was living.[30]

Besides the Penelope books, Kate's British experiences were the stimuli of two charming stories. One, *A Cathedral Courtship,*[31] a tender love story in its high church setting, is a counterpart of *The Old Peabody Pew* in the simple beauty of its small New England church setting. The other, *The Diary of a Goose Girl,*[32] conveys Kate's love for all living creatures, even the fowl of the barnyard.

Her European experiences brought Kate also the mature happiness of her second marriage. It was on one of her ocean trips, in the summer of 1894, that she met George C. Riggs. Theirs was a shipboard romance, begun as they were outward bound, Mr. Riggs for golf in Scotland and Kate for one of her frequently needed rest periods. Kate was rather indifferent to the attentions of Mr. Riggs at first. An affluent businessman, he represented a very different world from hers. But as she came to know him she found in him much that was fundamentally in harmony with her thinking and feeling, to say nothing of his undeniable charm. On his return from Europe Mr. Riggs visited Kate's beloved Hollis, which two years earlier she, her mother and Nora had agreed to make their permanent home. Mr. Riggs found himself at ease not only with Kate's family but with the residents of Hollis as well. He and Kate were married at All Saints' Church in New York on March 30, 1895, and, as Kate would close the fairy tales she loved to tell children, "lived happily ever after."

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[30] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, p. 333.

[31] Kate Douglas Wiggin, *A Cathedral Courtship* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1893).

[32] ——, *The Diary of a Goose Girl* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1902).

When Kate's family had returned to Hollis, they found the old Carll home still standing but in almost total disrepair. It had been the finest house in the village; the Smith children had spent two happy summers in it before their mother's second marriage; and, long ago, it had belonged to one of the family ancestors. All good reasons for wanting it. The family secured it and gradually restored it to its original beauty. Kate named it Quillcote, a home that was to become a shrine in American literature. The spacious barn was transformed by Kate and Nora into a community center destined to become famous for its dramatic performances and its unique annual fairs.

Here in the peace of Quillcote Kate and Nora did much of their writing, confined mainly to the summers. In the winter Kate lived in New York, busy with lecturing and other professional activities, with an exciting social life, while Nora continued her activities in her San Francisco kindergarten. In the first years at Quillcote Nora and Kate both capitalized on their California kindergarten experiences by preparing for publication notes on student lectures and literary material they had used with children.

The educational materials were published under joint authorship of the two sisters, with Kate's name first. The picture that persists is chubby little Nora toddling behind the four-year-older Kate in their childhood New England home. Was the childhood pattern of sibling relationship so firmly established early in life that no later experiences could change it? In a way the professional relationship between the two sisters resembles that between Elizabeth Peabody and her sister, Mary Peabody Mann. In each case the younger sister took over the kindergarten the older sister had established. Mary Mann made a respected position for herself in her own right, as did Nora; she, like Nora, was always ready to fill in for Elizabeth. Nineteenth-century family loyalties were very strong, particularly in New England families like the Peabodys and the Douglas-Smith-Bradburys.

Just how Kate and Nora collaborated in their writing we do not know. Something of the relationship is suggested in Nora's book, *Kate Douglas Wiggin as Her Sister Knew Her*, disclaiming any attempt to write a biography, wishing rather to fill in the gaps in *My Garden of Memory* by Kate. "It should be read," she wrote, "not for any annotation of facts, but for a sound of vanishing voices." Nora tells how in the last years of Kate's life she delved with her into the contents of a large chest in which they had preserved letters, programs and notes of all kinds. Together they selected the materials for Kate's book, while Nora decided to use the discards for her book.

Although purely conjectural, it seems probable that the spontaneous, colorful writing that characterizes all Kate's work was hers alone and that Nora was the receptive listener to ideas, the corrector of inaccuracies and the patient researcher and organizer—Kate was too imaginative to be meticulous about detail. This supposition is given weight by the fact that all Kate's fiction and travel narratives bear only her signature.

Creative Interpreter of Froebel

THE FOUR BOOKS BASED ON THE KINDERGARTEN LECTURES ARE:

Children's Rights (1896)
A Trilogy: The Republic of Childhood
    Kindergarten Principles and Practices (1896)
    Froebel's Occupations (1896)
    Froebel's Gifts (1899)

Earlier copyright dates of these publications, three of which were published in the same year, and Kate's own statement are evidences of their origin in the Silver Street Kindergarten experience.

These books were written in approximately the same period in which Susan Blow did her major writing. Both writers had the same general purpose of interpreting Froebel and dealt with much the same content. But what a difference! Susan explored the depths in detail of the abstruse philosophy of Froebel and tried with might and main to explain it; Kate penetrated to the core of the master's thinking without attempting to unravel its many ramifications, and interpreted it largely through ready illustration. While both emphasized the spirit of Froebel's teaching and lamented its unfortunately prevalent mechanical application, Susan could not bridge the gap between her world of ideas and the common mind but Kate had the gift of translating the abstract into homely realities. Their writing style, as it ever will be when honest, clearly expressed the differences in their personalities. Susan's logic, rhetoric and diction leave nothing to be desired; Kate wrote out of the fertility of her mind, one idea suggesting another in a vocabulary graphic and often picturesque. Susan wrote primarily from her mind and Kate, from her heart.

With all her love of books and her companionship with the great minds of all ages, the primary source of Kate's writing was people—big and little and in all walks of life. For example, when she was engaged in writing *Children's Rights* she asked Dennis, a window-washer, and a French dressmaker what they thought of children's rights. She opens the book with their answers:

> Dennis: "Why, I think we ought to give 'em to 'em. But Lord, mum, if we don't, they take 'em, so what's the odds?"
>
> The French dressmaker: "Is it of the American child, Madame? Mon Dieu, he has them."[53]

This propensity for listening to others made Kate's writing so appealing in its illustrations. In the same book, *Children's Rights*, in order to make the point of how difficult and, at the same time, how necessary it is for adults to bridge the gap between their and the child's world, she tells of a day when her nephew picked up a pair of delicate pearl opera glasses in the room where she was writing. "No, no, dear," said Kate. "That's for grown-up people." The nephew answered, "Hasn't it got any little boy end?"[54]

Working with children as intimately as she had, and with the memory of her own childish behavior confusing as it must have been to many adults, Kate recognized that all the educational theory in the world can never be a substitute for contact with children [illegible] they really are. In her introduction to *Froebel's Gifts*, after speaking of educators' efforts to make children's minds work according to laws, she wrote from her Silver Street experience, "But sometimes the child's mind obstinately declined to follow the prescribed route: It refused to begin at the proper beginning of a subject and go on logically to the end as the book decreed but flew into the middle of it and darted both ways like a weaver's shuttle."[55] One might add—as did Kate's.

She advised in the same book that when the "Gifts" and "Occupations" are found wanting they should be discarded: "They are of no more importance than the leaves of the tree; if time and stress of weather strip them off, the life current is still there and new ones will grow in their places."[56] Occasionally, as here, Kate disregarded precise statement of fact but she made her point.

While Kate had little knowledge of science and certainly claimed none, she was imbued with the scientific spirit as was her old teacher, Emma Marwedel. In the concluding statement of *Froebel's Gifts* she writes: "It is not that we regard the connected series of gifts as inspired nor as inescapable of improvement, for it may be that as our psychological observations of children grow wiser, more sympathetic, and more subtle, we shall see cause to make radical changes in the objects which are Froebel's legacy to the kindergarten."[57]

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[53] Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora Archibald Smith, *Children's Rights* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1896), pp. 3, 4.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[55] Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora Archibald Smith, *Froebel's Gifts* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1899), Introduction, p. ix.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

Kate was not irrevocably committed to details of Froebel's methodology but receptive to other ideas. This is indicated by the frequent references to W. Preyer, G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey and others, to a dawning era of new educational reform. Findings on the sequence of muscular development of the eye obviously influenced her. In *Froebel's Occupations* she refers to objections of C. C. Van Liew to the perforating and pin-pricking as inappropriate for young children because of lack of development of the small muscles needed for the work and to Preyer's objection because of immaturity of the eyes. She considers the objections of Herbert Spencer to drawing of lines on one-fourth-inch squared paper as a dry analysis of elements and a formal discipline that has little value in development. Similarly she quotes H. C. Courthope Bowen's objection to the drawing of lines as mechanical and lacking in freedom, refers to a committee report to the New York Conference of Educational Workers in October 1889 as characterizing such drawing as wrong in principle, cramping in execution, and debarring free expression.[58] Perhaps most significant is Dewey's quote in which he bases his objections to fine work: its bad physical effect on eyes and muscles, its cramping effect on ideas and on arresting imagery with its violation of the developmental principle to which he subscribes. One such principle is that free coarse work will refine itself.[59]

However, Kate presents arguments of the supporters of fine dictated work. She gives E. Seguin's defense of it as affording guides to young children as yet "irresolute under the dictates of a confused imagination," and T. C. Roper's as "furthering symmetry without technical language."[60]

While Kate presents both points of view, she obviously leans toward a freer approach to the use of materials. Even though taking the liberal position, she subscribes, however, to the sequence in the use of the "Gifts" and "Occupations" as outlined by Froebel and also to the general plan of his methodology. In *Froebel's Gifts* she affirms that "each Gift must be understood before the next . . . development must be orderly . . . not excitement and disorder . . . liberty not lawlessness."[61] As to method, she writes: "The order of teaching Mother Play, Gifts, or Occupations has one invariable sequence: imitation, direction, free expression."[62] The last is the very heart of Froebel's system, the one most assailed by those who would put freedom of expression first.

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[57] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[58] Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora Archibald Smith, *Froebel's Occupations* (New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1896), pp. 91, 92.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[61] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin and Smith, *Froebel's Gifts*, pp. 43, 44.

Although self-activity is the cornerstone of Froebel's philosophy and the major emphasis in Kate's interpretation of it, she agrees with him that freedom of expression should be held within limits. In working with "Gifts" or "Occupations" the children have imitated the teacher, followed her directions; and, when encouraged to produce something on their own, even then their activities were kept within bounds. As did Susan Blow, Kate Douglas Wiggin emphasized Froebel's three forms of expression into which children should be guided: life forms in which they attempt to make something suggested by their experiences; mathematical forms in which they produce a variety of geometric combinations; symmetrical forms in which they exercise what esthetic means they have to achieve beauty for its own sake. Kate adheres to the principle back of this formalizing of expression by stating: "The greater the freedom given to the child, the greater the necessity of teaching him to use that liberty in and through law."[63]

No one as individualistic as Kate Douglas Wiggin could, in practice, let herself be bound by any system of someone else's devising. Nor could she ever resist improvisation. In her books she gives us glimpses into how she would work with the Mother Play, the "Gifts," the "Occupations." In her hands they were bound to move far afield from the didactic formulations that were their framework. Song, music, dance, story, the fanciful, the realistic sprang from her creative mind as she worked with children. The thin little sticks the children were given became logs that were once parts of trees that grew in great forests; the children watched the woodsmen chopping and heard the ring of their axes; they rode down the river with the logs propelling them out of jams; they listened in the mill to the whirr of the saw as the logs were shaped into boards, masts of ships and even finally splintered into the slender sticks with which the children built.

As the children wove at their simple looms, they listened to the stories of man's first efforts to weave grasses into roofs for their huts or of modern man as he sheared his sheep gradually learning to card, to spin, to weave cloth for himself. Then they sang old spinning songs in the rhythm of the whirling spinning wheel. Kate accepted completely Froebel's love of the homely "Occupations" that had grown from the simplest to the most complex arts and, like Froebel, she wanted the children to live again the story of how man learned to meet his needs through materials at hand.[64]

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[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 133.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[64] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin and Smith, *Froebel's Occupations*, p. 142.

The creative side would never be lost, regardless of the system, when a Kate Douglas Wiggin was the teacher. Nora spoke truly when she wrote of Kate, "My sister was, it need hardly be said, one of those teachers by the grace of God, that Froebel describes . . . she could always teach a thing whether she knew it or not."[65] Again, Nora quotes Kate as saying:

> I wonder if it can be an inherent weakness in Froebel's plan of education that it is only successful in the hands of a certain kind of woman. . . . The traditions of the kindergarten are simple, touching, and beautiful to me. To my fancy, the dear old Froebel, like some Pied Piper, played so tender and enchanting a tune that all the children followed him gladly. It is such influences that keep on leavening our work-a-day world. If only those who take up the pipe of Froebel will play upon it with like sincerity and simplicity.[66]

Poetry, Fantasy, Laughter for Children

THE COLLABORATION OF THE SISTERS IN COMPILATIONS OF POETRY AND stories for children is a noteworthy achievement. This is especially true of:

The Story Hour —1890
Golden Numbers —1893
The Posy Ring —1903
The Fairy Ring —1906
Tales of Laughter —1908
Tales of Wonder —1909

It is encouraging to have noted recently on the withdrawal cards of these public library books the frequency with which they were borrowed. Out of their background and love of literature the sisters brought together the imperishable in story and verse, regardless of time or origin, to comfort, inspire, amuse and delight the children of all ages and living conditions. It is a tribute to the discrimination and literary taste of Nora and Kate that their selections hold their own today against the enticements of the over-illustrated books which the machine age, and too often the machine minds, pour out by the thousands to quickly surfeited children.

In *The Posy Ring*, Shakespeare, Blake, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Christina Rossetti, Robert Louis Stevenson, Gabriel Setoun, James Ferguson, Cecil Francis Alexander rub shoulders with the same lack of relationship as did the authors on the old brown bookshelf the Smith children loved in their New England home. Here, however, the poems are grouped in a rich repository on which teachers and parents might draw as needed—to hear about other children, for bedtime quiet, for gay playtime, for Christmas or for the seasons.

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[65] *Op. cit.*, Smith, *Kate Douglas Wiggin*, p. 38.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

It was not the intention of Kate and Nora in *The Fairy Ring* to reproduce the old favorite fairy tales generally known and republished many times. Instead, they searched to find the best that each nation had produced but, for one reason or another, had never become well known. They did the same with *The Tales of Wonder* and *The Tales of Laughter*. The selections were not lightly made. Nora tells of the many argmuents she and Kate had when they found they were not in agreement over their choices.

In the introduction to *The Story Hour* Kate demonstrates her superb skill in combining instruction and inspiration. Without ever being didactic but out of her rich experience with the children of Silver Street Kindergarten, she manages to convey the principles of the how, what, when and where of storytelling better than we find in many of the technical attempts of others. She takes the occasion, too, to defend the fairy tales against the "Gradgrinds" who will not accept them. She stands firmly for discrimination in their selection and defines what she believes to be the true fairy tale:

> The true meaning of the word "faerie" is spiritual, but many stories masquerade under that title which had no claim to it. Some universal spiritual truth underlies the really fine old fairy tale; but there can be no educative influence in the so-called fairy stories which are merely jumbles of impossible incidents and which infrequently present dishonesty, deceit, and cruelty in attractive or amusing guise.[67]

The many children Kate knew on Silver Street live again in the pages of the Introduction. Pat with a gleam of humor in his eye, Topsy all smiles and teeth, Hans and Gretchen phlegmatic and dependable, Duncan canny and prudent, and a host more. And the teacher is one who can "kindle in tired hearts a gentler thought of life; open the eyes that see not and the ears that hear not; interpret to them something of the beauty that has been revealed [to her.]"[68]

Late Years: Intense and Varied Activity

THE WINTERS IN NEW YORK AFTER KATE'S MARRIAGE TO MR. RIGGS were a combination of glamor and hard work exhausting in quantity, scope and variety. They lived part of the time in a house in Greenwich Village that had belonged to a sculptor. It was spacious, interestingly planned and included a lofty studio. The Riggs furnished it luxuriously in a style befitting sophisticated life in a metropolis, as Quillcote was designed for good living in the best New England tradition. The Riggs home became a center where the celebrities of all lands found congenial discourse and entertainment. Kate conceived the idea of having their dinner guests write their names on the heavy damask tablecloth and the next day giving them permanency by having a seamstress embroider them in fine stitches. Eventually there were 109 names of such eminence as Rudyard Kipling, Lady Gregory, Ellen Terry, Beerbohm Tree, Hugh Wallpole, John Masefield.[69]

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[67] Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora A. Smith, *The Story Hour, a Book for Home and the Kindergarten* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1901), Introduction, p. 16.
[68] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 26.

Professionally these years were crowded with a variety of activities. There was the dramatization of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*, with its many successful performances both in the United States and abroad. Always interested in the theatre and in acting, Kate welcomed the many amateur productions of many of her stories, particularly *The Birds' Christmas Carol*. The demand for her stories all over the world increased, translations were granted. *The Birds' Christmas Carol* was translated into French, Swedish, German, Italian and Japanese; *Timothy's Quest* into Swedish, Danish, Bohemian, German; *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* into German, Polish, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch; *A Cathedral Courtship* into French; *Principles and Practices of the Kindergarten* into Spanish; *The Story of Patsy* into German; *Polly Oliver's Problem* into Swedish. Particularly dear to Kate was the fact that five of her works were in Braille for the blind.[70] While she did not do much actual writing in New York, books written during the summer months continued to appear and demanded attention. Robert Newton Linscott, who had spent forty years with Houghton Mifflin and Co., moving from office boy gradually up to editor, wrote in his memoirs that it was his function in his early years to conduct authors to the office of Mr. Mifflin. Among them was Kate Douglas Wiggin whom he characterized as "the Houghton Mifflin gold mine who graciously allowed me to carry her bag to the station." [71] It would seem that Kate shared in the gold mine.

During this same period Kate found a new and absorbing interest. It came from requests she received to read from her works to high school and college students. She found this to be a satisfying outlet both for her love of the dramatic and her enjoyment of the companionship of young people and teachers.

Although Kate worked actively in New York Kindergarten Association and was an honored member of International Kindergarten Union, she never really was a "joiner." Nor was she one to enter into controversy. No mention was made of any participation on her part in the critical debates of the Committee of Nineteen. The only reference of her activity in IKU was in 1897 and 1898 when she served on the Committee on Children's Literature. Nora (Nora A. Smith) had been appointed to the Committee of Nineteen but resigned almost immediately. Nora, however, served on the Committee on Children's Literature continuously, except in the years 1897 and 1898. Probably Kate's membership during 1897 and 1898 was a response to the feeling that she could help Nora by so doing. Another mention of Nora was in the IKU Yearbook for 1895, which reported that she gave "a delightful paper on the art of story telling with illustrations."[72]

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[69] *Op. cit.*, Smith, *Kate Douglas Wiggin*, pp. 99, 100.
[70] *Op. cit.*, Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, Appendix, pp. 445-447.
[71] Robert Newton Linscott, "$3 a Week as a Start" in the column "Speaking of Books," *The New York Times* Book Review, Feb. 6, 1966.

There was no lack of recognition of Kate by the IKU, and her books were always listed in the recommended readings appearing in the Yearbooks. Mrs. Gibson paid tribute jointly to Mrs. Severance and Kate Douglas Wiggin at the 1925 IKU meeting, and the full speech is published in the Yearbook. Mrs. Gibson's words were reminiscent and appreciative, based on her friendship with both in California. She spoke of Kate's many beaux and of the young man who fell in love with her; of her leading role in an amateur performance of Mrs. Jarley's *Wax Works;* of her opportunities for a career in the theatre or opera and her decision to devote her life to the interlocking professions of dramatic reading, writing and teaching; and how through them she touched the imagination of the public.[73]

Kate made her contribution through her own personal gifts and thoroughly enjoyed them herself as she gave pleasure to others. She was no espouser of causes like Elizabeth Peabody; nor did she struggle with the issues behind man's persisting problems as did Susan Blow. No echo was in Kate's work of the world in revolution in which she lived. She was fully aware that "it was not the best of all possible worlds"; but the growing demands for the rights of children, of women, of the downtrodden, did not rouse her to fight for *justice*. Hers was the way of *love and compassion*. Acutely sensitive to suffering and misery in any form, her faith in the redeeming power of love and compassion never faltered. The idea that "love must be the final fruit and flower of justice,"[74] as Reinhold Niebuhr believed, was not in her thinking. Hers was the *noblesse oblige* of the philanthropy of her day, but instead of expending material wealth on charity, she gave of her abundance of love. Her share in the regeneration of society lay in her power to move the human heart, young and old. This she did, and a world for a large part preferring to dispense charity rather than justice gratefully responded.

[72] Official Record of the Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Boston, 1895, p. 21.
[73] Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, Los Angeles, 1925, pp. 118-122.
[74] Edward B. Fiske in "Christianity and Crises," *The New York Times*, Feb. 2, 1966.

Never strong physically and often in acute pain, the intense activities of her last years took their toll. In August 1923, once again she sought peace and rest in England. But her respite was brief. She became ill on the voyage and succumbed to pneumonia soon after reaching Harrow. At her request her ashes were brought home and scattered on the Saco River in Maine, where she had spent her happy childhood and so many good years of her later life.

> It is a supremely joyous thing to be alive and smell the flowers and see the sunshine.

So spoke Kate.

6

ELIZABETH HARRISON (1849-1927)

Bridging the Old and the New

Elizabeth Harrison

6

ELIZABETH HARRISON (1849-1927)
Bridging the Old and the New

Philosophic Idealism and Scientific Perspective

A PORTRAIT OF ELIZABETH HARRISON REPRESENTS HER SEATED IN HER office at Chicago Kindergarten College * in front of a large reproduction of the Sistine Madonna. Schiller's "Ode to Joy," that Elizabeth Harrison had chosen as the college song (used with the choral music of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony), was sung at her memorial services. Each in its way is symbolic of the philosophic idealism that had its source in the religious atmosphere of her childhood home. It was fostered in her Froebelian professional education and permeated her total life pattern. It was the yearning maternity of the Madonna that stirred Elizabeth Harrison's heart, even when ill and exhausted seeking rest in the foothills of the Sierras, she found a way to give a good life to neighboring children. It was the triumphant affirmation of the future Brotherhood of Man in the "Ode to Joy" and her belief that through the education of children good will among men could be achieved that made her teaching so compelling. It was her custom to wear a red carnation pinned to a black silk dress at all festive College occasions. Did this have a symbolism too?

The other side to Elizabeth Harrison was the inquiring mind that made her a seeker for more knowledge and deeper insights. She could be loyal to the old but open to the new. It was this quality that determined her, after initial professional study with Mrs. Putnam in Chicago, to seek further preparation with Susan Blow in St. Louis and Maria Kraus-Boelte in New York before beginning to teach. Later the same urge sent her to Europe to study with Froebel's greatest student, the Baroness Bertha von Marenholz-Buelow, and still later, to Italy to study Mme. Montessori's methods.

It was not that she was interested only in study in her own field for this, although intense, was but a facet of a fundamental approach to life, the attitude of the scientist in his compulsion to know, to understand. She studied the sciences "for recreation" as she put it, and added, "if not too technical." So many of her generation, reared in religious faith, were shaken and confused by revelations of nineteenth-century science; but

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* Now National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois.

Elizabeth Harrison saw no conflict between science and religion and accorded each its place.

The ability to combine philosophical idealism with scientific perception gave her readily accepted leadership of the Liberal-Conservative Group of the Committee of Nineteen in the International Kindergarten Union. At times her contemporaries must have sensed inconsistency in her compromises. It caused Susan Blow to wonder which stand Elizabeth Harrison would take in controversial issues. It was one of the reasons Olga Adams, when confronted with decision as to where she would get her professional education, chose the University of Chicago rather than the Chicago Kindergarten College. "How could anyone," Miss Adams asked, "with so liberal a point of view teach all that paper weaving, stick laying, pricking, etc.?"[1]

Like Kate Douglas Wiggin who wrote *My Garden of Memory*, Elizabeth Harrison wrote *Sketches Along Life's Road*,[2] an autobiography. They are similar in their abundant use of incidents; but Kate in vivid language lets the facts speak for themselves, whereas Elizabeth with her more introspective nature interprets them in relation to her own development and in their general application to children. *Sketches Along Life's Road*, the archives of National College of Education and the archives of the Association for Childhood Education International provide much of the biographic material of this chapter.

Childhood and Youth in Mature Perspective

ELIZABETH HARRISON'S FAMILY ON BOTH SIDES WAS AMONG THOSE OF Virginia colonial ancestry whose pioneering spirit sent them westward into Kentucky. Her parents had inherited a beautiful home overlooking the Ohio River in Carroll County, but after twelve years of happy married life financial difficulties forced them to leave it. The family moved to Athens, Kentucky, where a few months later, on September 1, 1849, Elizabeth was born in the midst of a cholera epidemic. The mother and the three other children—Mollie, Lillie and George—took ill but fortunately all recovered. As soon as Mrs. Harrison had recovered she took care of the ill in the community, which was indicative of the quality of home influence that characterized Elizabeth's childhood. However, better opportunities soon brought another move for the family, this time to Midway, another Kentucky town. It was in Midway that Elizabeth spent her first seven years. Then, the offer of a large grant of land and a land grant agency for Mr. Harrison took the family to Davenport, Iowa, which became the permanent family home. As Elizabeth looked back on her childhood and youth in Midway and Davenport, no doubt the interpretations of the incidents she describes in *Sketches Along Life's Road* were colored by the insights that had evolved with time and experience. One such incident occurred when she was about four, the occasion being a dinner party at the home of Miss Betsy, a family friend. She describes the enormous table with its many guests and Miss Betsy's brother serving at the head:

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[1] Olga Adams, chairman, ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee, in note to writer.

[2] Elizabeth Harrison, *Sketches Along Life's Road* (Boston: The Stratford Co., 1930).

> I was desperately hungry, but had been taught that "nice little ladies" always waited until old people had been served. At last a bountiful serving of flaky mashed potatoes was set before me. On top of the potato hill was a lake of rich brown gravy. I picked up my spoon and at once attacked the pile. But, alas! An unexpected embarrassment occurred. The first plunge of my spoon into the potato hill caused brown gravy to trickle down on the plate and slowly approach the picture of a man on horseback in the center of the plate. In a moment, more of the gravy would have reached his beautiful face if I had not vigorously pushed it back with my spoon.

She made more attempts to save the "beautiful face" from the gravy and failed "until at last the man, horse, and all were lost in the thick darkness." This was too much for the four-year-old and she burst into tears. She was taken from the table in disgrace but was comforted and fed by one of the Negro house servants and left to sleep the afternoon away in Miss Betsy's bed.

In recounting this incident, Elizabeth Harrison reveals her realization of her own gradual and deepening insight into childhood:

> Years had passed before the above experience had any significance to me. Then it became added proof of how vivid and real pictures are to an imaginative child, and into what happy or unhappy worlds they may lead.[3]

Illustrative of the emphasis she placed upon the effect of childish experiences on adult character was an incident that occurred when she was about fourteen. She tells it in response to a friend's question on a way of knowing what experiences help most in molding character. Elizabeth answers by narrating an experience which she considered to have helped in molding her character:

> The leading women of Davenport had undertaken to raise money to cancel a debt incurred by the Library Association. . . . I was too young to be a member but I was sent to find if Mrs. Charles Putnam (no relative of Alice Harvey Putnam), owner of a handsome home and large grounds, would allow the fete to be given on her grounds. The Putnam home was two miles from my

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[3] Elizabeth Harrison, unpublished chapter in manuscript, *Sketches Along Life's Road* (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

> home, and there was no street car. On reaching the place I found that Mrs. Putnam was not at home and would not be back until supper time. It was not yet three o'clock in the afternoon. I rested for a while and then started for home. When I had gone about half way, I stopped suddenly as if I had run against a stone wall. Something inside of me, which I could not then define, said, "You were sent on an errand, and you have not finished your job." The day was insufferably warm, and I was tired and began making excuses to myself. But that something kept saying, "You have not finished your job." Finally ashamed to frame any further excuse, I retraced my steps and waited until Mrs. Putnam returned and gave her gracious consent to the use of her grounds.

Elizabeth's answer to the friend's question is directly given:

> It was not until I had begun the study of psychological movements of the mind that I realized why this trifling experience stood so distinct and vivid in my memory. I had reached that marvellous and so little understood period called adolescence, the period when both body and mind are taking on new developments which if rightly directed lead into strong manhood and womanhood. One of these necessary developments is a feeling of personal self-respect which is quite different from conceit or pride in its stern demands that difficult tasks shall be done; and consequently it awakens personal responsibility. Up to the time of the incident related, I had acted under authority of my parents or some other adult and had done what they thought right; or I had done what I thought would bring pleasure to someone or, sometimes, just what I impulsively wanted to do. On this occasion I distinctly realized that I *was making myself* go back to finish my errand. I was setting my own standards of conduct, and that standard demanded that I do my job thorougly. I feel that there is scarcely anything in all human affairs which is a greater safe-guard than a rightly educated self-respect.[4]

This personalized exposition of the development of conscience and the formation of a guiding value is an example of one of the strengths that made Elizabeth Harrison a compelling teacher—the ability to explain truth in a simple anecdote. She often alluded to the parable in its potency to reach the heart as well as the mind, and in reading her works one feels that she strove to translate the ideas she wished to convey through this medium. Students at National College of Education frequently speak of the way Edna Dean Baker, the successor of Elizabeth Harrison in the presidency of the College, similarly used anecdotes and parables to make her points as she taught.

Elizabeth did not attend school until she was eight, after the family had moved to Davenport. The elementary and high schools were typical of the time: memorization, practically no research, examinations, grading by A, B, C, D according to standards of the teacher, rarely any attempt to make any connection between school studies and the lives of the pupils, little exploration into the meaning of what was taught. While Elizabeth was graded "A" in her four years of Latin, she did not discover that it was Caesar who wrote the *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* or that her translations of Cicero's *Orations* had been written by Rome's greatest orator. But she was not unhappy in school. "Going to school," she wrote, "was simply a duty that had to be performed like the hanging up of my clothes or making up my bed." [5]

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[4] *Ibid.*

One teacher, James Hamlin (and strangely enough a science teacher —Elizabeth never claimed an absorbing interest in the details of science), probably to a large extent influenced her open-mindedness toward the new scientific study of children. This existed despite her reverence for the philosophical mysticism of Froebel.

She recalls a memorable morning when James Hamlin came into the classroom beaming and exclaimed, "I have a most wonderful thing to tell you today. It will change the whole course of all science and will help you to realize what a marvellous thing God's creation is." The discovery was the correlation and conservation of the forces of heat, light and motion. Elizabeth acknowledges her debt to James Hamlin with the best of all tributes a pupil can pay a teacher: "He filled my eyes with wonder and my heart with hunger for more knowledge of the universe." [6] She goes on to tell that because of his teachings she found stimulation and when weary even recreation in some scientific work—"not too technical"—and came away refreshed. Through this entrance into the world of science, she credits to him both a beginning understanding of the old myths with their giants, genii and demigods through which primitive man strove to understand the universe and her desire to bring these myths to children. The far-reaching influence of Mr. Hamlin gave her, young as she was, a glimpse into what it means to be a good teacher.

Elizabeth completed the elementary school at thirteen and passed the entrance examinations for high school. She looked forward to college and her father promised that, if she passed college entrance examinations as creditably as she had passed those for high school, he would send her to college. Buoyed by this hope, she wanted to spend the summer in study; but the family doctor intervened because of her frailty and advised a year's rest instead. All through her life, as was true of Susan Blow, Elizabeth Harrison had to struggle against physical disabilities. A compromise was reached by spending the summer with her cousin Sally on her farm in Missouri—but not to study! She completed high school at seventeen, the only member of her class with a straight "A" record.

But it was not so much to school as to her home that Elizabeth attributed her introduction to literature and her love of it. It was to her mother and her cousin Sally that she expressed deep gratitude for the contagion of their example and guidance. She appreciated her mother's selection of passages of Scripture which she read on Sunday afternoons and had the children commit to memory. Before she was nine years old Elizabeth had memorized the first chapter of Genesis; the twentieth chapter of Exodus to the end of the ten commandments; Psalms 19, 23, 109; fortieth chapter of Isaiah; St. Matthew—Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5; the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians and the twentieth chapter of Revelations.

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[5] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, *Sketches Along Life's Road*, p. 21.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Study of the Bible, however, was not limited to the mother's reading to the children on Sunday afternoons and the memorization of a chapter a week. On their own the children dramatized the stories; and Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, Daniel, Elijah, and Nehemiah became their "Greats." They were real people to the children as they enacted their roles and recited the resounding words of the Old Testament.

It was Cousin Sally who led Elizabeth into wide and heterogeneous reading. Elizabeth tells of the evenings when the family gathered together under the lamplight, her mother sewing and Cousin Sally reading. Elizabeth was about five when she was thus introduced to Shakespeare. She writes, "I did not understand the plot, nor was I conscious of the beauty and variety of Shakespeare's language. It was the dramatic reading that I enjoyed." She mentions other readings: Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, studied at high school by her sister Mollie and, under Elizabeth's direction, dramatized at home by the children; Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship;* Longfellow's *Psalm of Life;* The *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius; Harry Emerson Fosdick's *Twelve Tests of Character;* Duruy's *History of Rome*. There were many others, a wide sampling of the old and the new, of the great and near-great seized by an imaginative child as from a grab bag of glamorous treasures—Margaret Deland, William deMorgan, Robert Louis Stevenson, Tagore, William Beebe, John Burroughs, Henry Van Dyke, Sydney Lanier—with no regard for sequence or genre but with the reliable selection of a child for its need when the environment is favorable.[7]

Wholesome play was in the children's lives too. Godey's *Lady's Book* furnished them with cut-outs to represent the book characters. The snows of winter brought the delights of daring coasting down the hill, the five blocks that led from their house high above the city streets. Summer brought boating and croquet, and with the fall came long hikes in the woods to gather nuts.

High school over, as at the close of her elementary school days,

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[7] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, unpublished manuscript, *Sketches*.

Elizabeth's health demanded a rest. College, so eagerly awaited, had to be deferred. What was meant to be merely a delay became, as the family finances lessened, a permanency. Elizabeth never realized her college dream. In this she was no exception to the young women of her day, but lack of money was never permitted by the parents to weigh heavily on the shoulders of the young people. They had their share of picnics, skating, dancing and parties that made up the social life of Davenport. Then the sisters married and George, who had gone into business, was frequently away from home. This left Elizabeth the mainstay of her parents. She was alone with them when in 1875 she met the blow of her mother's death after a brief illness.

Elizabeth spent the next four years in trying to console her father and making a home for him. During that period she was active in both the social and civic life of the rapidly growing Davenport; in visits with her sister Mollie, including a momentous trip to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia with George and Mollie—her sister Lillie took care of Mollie's children. It is possible that she may have visited the model kindergarten conducted by Miss Ruth Burritt and that this may have influenced her decision later to become a kindergartner. But it was not the kindergarten that she looked forward most to seeing. She had read Ruskin's five volumes of *Modern Painters* and had noted in the Exposition catalog that one of Turner's paintings was to be exhibited.

She describes her excited anticipation when she and Mollie made their way to the Turner exhibit. She stood before "Off the Welsh Coast." She could not believe that this was really a Turner! When the catalog convinced her that it was, she was angry and disappointed to the extreme. How both Ruskin and Turner had let her down! "It was nothing but a dirty-looking daub with impossible hills of dull brown green background!" Mollie was convulsed with laughter. But Elizabeth's faith in Ruskin could not be so easily destroyed. The next day she returned alone to look again. She still could not see the worth of the painting, but she recalled Carlyle's saying that "No man is a hero to his valet. Not because the hero is not a hero but because the valet is a valet." She then and there determined not to have a valet mind.[*] Thus began her pursuit of art.

Soon after her mother's death Elizabeth was dealt another blow. She does not disclose what it was, but reveals how serious a crisis it brought in her life when years later she wrote to a dear cousin in an effort to comfort her during a similar crisis. She writes how she walked the floor at night when "all the teachings of my childhood and early girlhood seemed a mockery, a foolish superstition"; and then one night when her

[*] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, *Sketches Along Life's Road*, pp. 39-41.

agony seemed too great to bear she crept out of the house at midnight and walked until exhausted:

> I know not why, I turned my face upward, and my eyes met the silent gaze of the stars. They appeared to be unusually brilliant. I knew that each one was in its own orbit moving forward in the vast realm of incomprehensible space, and something within me seemed to say in almost inaudible words, "Account for these stars if you can. The mighty weight of each is upheld in ether, lighter than air; each moving forward in its own path. Account for these worlds and worlds, without a guiding power, without a God!" That was all. The voice within ceased speaking. The silence of the night once more surrounded me, and in the heavens above me the stars continued to shine steadily and bright.[9]

She tells in the remainder of the letter how she worked herself back from despair. She alludes to the comfort she found in the orderly processes of nature, probably an aftermath of that illuminating hour when James Hamlin gave of his enthusiasm and depth of interpretation to her receptive child mind. She expresses the faith she wrested from grief which from that darkest hour had remained the mainstay of her life and in her teaching of others.

During the next few years her father, despite her efforts to comfort him, grew increasingly lonely. Finally he agreed that it would be best to leave the Davenport home and live in a hotel in town where he could be in daily contact with his old friends. The decision was made and with it Elizabeth's own decision to become self-supporting. Youth was behind Elizabeth Harrison. She had reached maturity.

Peabody, Putnam, Blow, Kraus-Boelte, Harrison

IT WAS NOT EASY FOR ELIZABETH HARRISON TO TAKE THE FIRST STEPS on her untried road. When she announced to her family she had decided to earn her own living and study to be a kindergartner, she met vigorous opposition from her sisters. They objected because Elizabeth did not have the physical strength for such a venture; probably their opposition was just as much due to the fact that earning a living was just "not done" by the women in their circle. However, being a kindergartner had an aura of respectability at least: some daughters of the "best families" were entering the field as a philanthropic service. It might have been this that helped Elizabeth to gain George's consent—George was always her champion. Reluctantly he gave his approval and helped her with a small financial loan.

Elizabeth's choice of Chicago for her preparation was possibly due to the comparative proximity of the city and to the reputation of Alice Harvey Putnam (1841-1919). In 1874 Mrs. Putman, under the influence of Elizabeth Peabody, had formed a class of mothers and teachers to study Froebel. It was from this class that a few years later the very active Chicago Kindergarten Club was formed and the development of the powerful Chicago Kindergarten movement sprang.

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[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-37.

With the help of this group Mrs. Putnam had established the first kindergarten in Chicago in 1874 and, within two years, had added a training class for young women, "the pioneer training school of the West." Two years later Mrs. E. W. Blanchard opened the first free kindergarten at the Dwight Moody Church as a memorial in memory of her young daughter. In 1878 Josephine Jarvis, who had come to Chicago in the early 1870's to familiarize herself with the Froebelian kindergarten, established a kindergarten and began translating Froebel's work, completing both *The Education of Man* and *Mother Play* by 1878.[10]

This was the young but well-established and vigorous situation in which Elizabeth Harrison began her preparation in 1879 for work in the kindergarten. She was thirty, with almost no funds, so she had to live as frugally as possible. She considered herself fortunate in finding a friendly home with Mrs. Washburn where she shared the small bedroom and double bed of Mrs. Washburn's daughter.

Elizabeth found her year with Mrs. Putnam very satisfying. Mornings were spent the first part of the year in visiting the three existing Chicago kindergartens—Mrs. Putnam's directed by Mrs. Loring, Mrs. Blanchard's and Miss Jarvis'. Afternoons were for lectures and handwork classes conducted by Mrs. Putnam in her home. After a period of observation in the three kindergarten classes, Elizabeth was happy to be assigned student teaching to Mrs. Loring's kindergarten under Mrs. Putnam's supervision.

Elizabeth was appreciative of what she learned from Mrs. Putnam. She commented particularly on Mrs. Putnam's mother spirit, reverence and willingness to acknowledge the good found in the advanced thought of the world. In her notebook she recorded the major ideas she found challenging and quotes them in *Sketches:* "The harmonious development of the child; the need children have for companionship of children of their own age; the child not to be crowded with learning for which he is not ready; ideas not to be thrust upon a child when he is eager to express his own." Reading these notes near the close of her life, she commented that the younger generation would be surprised to think that she considered anything so commonplace worth recording. Then she added, ". . . at the time they were written they gave to my imagination the wings of an eagle, and I often walked home after class entirely unconscious of the passing crowd, because I was so absorbed in my heart's song of rejoicing that I had been permitted to become a teacher of little children, a helper to young mothers."[11]

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[10] Edna Dean Baker, "The Kindergarten in Chicago" in *History of the Kindergarten Movement* (Washington, D. C.: Association for Childhood Education, 1938), pp. 18-23.

At the close of the year with Mrs. Putnam, Elizabeth was surprised to receive not only a diploma for teaching in the kindergarten but a certificate for training kindergartners as well. A further gratification came with Mrs. Putnam's invitation to return the following year to assist in Mrs. Loring's kindergarten.

It was during that second year in Chicago that she, like Mrs. Putnam earlier, decided that she must visit Susan Blow. Her salary was forty dollars a month and it had to be managed with the strictest economy. Nevertheless, by the end of the winter semester she had saved twenty-five dollars and on this sum she spent her two-week vacation in St. Louis with Susan Blow. Judging from her ecstatic account of the experience, the sacrifices entailed were amply repaid.

She returned to Mrs. Loring's school the following year and had another good experience, an increase in salary and the advantage of Mrs. Putnam's supervision. But she wanted more preparation; and, though Mrs. Putnam invited her back for the next year, she decided that in order to earn enough for a semester of Susan Blow's training she would open a kindergarten in Marshalltown during the summer and fall of 1881. This proved not only a stimulating experience but it paved the way for a public school kindergarten in Marshalltown and gave Elizabeth the necessary funds for her study with Susan Blow.

This closer and more intensive view of the work in St. Louis inspired Elizabeth with the sweep of Miss Blow's intellect and her spiritual insight, as it had in her earlier visit. However, she was disappointed as was Miss Blow that she found in the kindergartens staffed by Miss Blow's students so much that was unimaginative, formal and didactic both in the use of materials and in dramatic play. Elizabeth worked unremittingly and completed the entire two-year course in the allotted semester. She also took art lessons privately with Mr. Halsey Ives, director of the St. Louis Art Museum, for she had never forgotten her initial inability to appreciate Turner and her determination to improve her sensitivity to art. With a deeper understanding of Froebel, she felt also the need for greater knowledge of art in order to guide children in their expression of Froebel's "forms of beauty," so important to Susan Blow.

At the close of the year with Susan Blow, Elizabeth was offered a position to develop a kindergarten in an Iowa town. She accepted the offer but upon arrival found that instead of teaching one group of children as had been agreed upon she was to teach both a morning and an afternoon group; she indignantly refused to remain. She insisted she could do no justice to the children or to the kindergarten cause. Mrs. Putnam immediately offered Elizabeth her old position in the Loring School, which she accepted. However, still hungry for more preparation for her work, she requested, if she could find a suitable substitute, to be released for the second semester to study with Mrs. Kraus-Boelte in New York. To this Mrs. Putnam gladly agreed.

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[11] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, pp. 52, 53.

Elizabeth faithfully kept a diary while studying with Mrs. Kraus-Boelte. Almost no gaps were in the diary from January 8 to April 26, 1883, but even her persistent spirit must have weakened toward the end when a few undated notes appeared with this very human entry:

> Remaining notes jotted on loose sheets of paper and since lost. Left New York May 28 all work completed, all abstracts handed in—entire year's work done in 5 months working 12 or 14 hours a day.[12]

The entries themselves are models of objectivity and give the impression of a note-taker keenly aware of the importance of scientifically accurate data. They give a good picture of the prevailing German-dominated kindergarten training of the time. Many notes have to do with slat-weaving and lacing, stick-laying, sewing cards, paper-folding, lentils, rings, stringing seeds, pasting, and sticking pins in peas to make canes, pens or rolling pins. Truly, "training" was a well-chosen word. Notes on play include "The Five Knights," "The Worm Game," "Jacob, Where Are You?" Stories include, "Mary, the Miller's Daughter," "The Little Glass Bottle," "The Fox and the Wolf." From time to time mention is made of Mr. Kraus' teaching—half-hour German lessons, marching and gymnastics!

Carefully distinct from the recorded facts were these occasional comments by Elizabeth:

> The remarkable part is the willing obedience and entire satisfaction of the children. I must watch closely and catch the secret.
>
> The children had a royal good time as Mrs. Kraus was in the room all the time.
>
> Everything goes on slowly as if there was all day to do it in—yet the children never grow tired.
>
> For the first time I saw a new game, "Jacob, where are you?"
>
> The remarkable part is that Mrs. Kraus makes the object in hand so vividly present that all see it for the time being, and the instruction that is intertwined never becomes tiresome.
>
> After the children had been dramatizing "The Five Knights,"

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[12] Elizabeth Harrison, Diary 1883 (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

> without costume or properties, Mrs. Kraus said, "All materials of the emotions of the games must come from the child's body—no artificial paraphernalia." This is a new thought to me. It deserves consideration. When will I ever get through learning to be a kindergartner!

After some of the rare gaps in her diary, Elizabeth comments, "Paper folding—728 forms—begun January 24, finished March 16. No wonder Journal has been neglected."

After quoting Mrs. Kraus, "What universally gives pleasure to the average child is of worth in his development," Elizabeth wrote, "Ah, me!"

The comments in the diary are guarded, those of a mature woman who has learned to be wary as to what she confides on paper. How irksome it must have been to repeat so much of what she had done in her former training and so much in this training that was repetitious and mechanical! On the inside of the diary cover, after the year was over, she released some of her feeling:

> I have wondered if this crude (and rather faulty spelling included) record of earnest, early striving to master a great ideal—no matter what time and effort it might cost—might not interest some discouraged girl. It was written late at night when oftentimes I had worked until 11 o'clock *remaking* "The Schools of Work," which I had completed in St. Louis the year before—*with the addition* of—literally—hundreds of "forms," added by the Kraus training; i.e. 130 mat weaving patterns, 700 paper folding forms, 14 books of linear drawings with 12 different arrangements in each series, and the rest in like proportion! These were the terms on which I was admitted to the class—and I scorned a quitter. And in the end I learned the power that the genuine play spirit could give in leading the children aright into the joy of creative activity guided into worthwhile experiences.

To the above, evidently added years later but undated, is this cryptic sentence, "Much water has run under the mill since 1883!" [13]

It is good to know that Elizabeth had a friend, "Dear Nell," to whom she wrote frankly during what must have been a trying time. In one of her letters recorded in *Sketches*, Elizabeth tells of an insufferable incident that made her come nearly to the quitting point. After a time when everything she did seemed to be wrong the climax came when Mrs. Kraus, in the presence of the children and other student teachers, screamed at her across the room, "Go sit down. You are not fit to be a kindergartner." Elizabeth was devastated not so much by the brutality of the attack but by the thought that, after all, Mrs. Kraus might be right. After packing her trunk, prepared to leave, she went to see Mrs. Kraus the next morning and asked if it were true that she could never be a kindergartner. Mrs. Kraus was utterly amazed. She had forgotten the incident. She explained that she had had a blinding headache and asked that she be forgiven and "to stay wid me until I train you rightly and you will make a fine kindergartner." Elizabeth was mollified but not to the extent of interfering with her sense of justice and her belief that not only children but adults also should be punished for their transgressions. Accordingly, she exacted an apology from Mrs. Kraus before the class that had witnessed the humiliating scene. The apology closed with an exhortation by Mrs. Kraus to the entire class "to look upon the work as so sacred that nothing should discourage us." [11]

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[13] *Ibid.*

The next year Elizabeth returned to the Loring School as a full-fledged kindergartner and began her life work, with Chicago as her professional home base.

Expanding Horizons for Teachers and Parents

SOON AFTER ELIZABETH HARRISON RETURNED TO THE LORING SCHOOL, Mrs. Loring, wishing to develop another school, asked Elizabeth to take her place as Director of the Loring School. Until this opportunity came, Elizabeth had always worked under the guidance of an experienced leader. Now the position was reversed and she found that she possessed similar qualities of leadership in directing the school—ones she had admired in others.

With her own passion for learning it is not surprising that Elizabeth wanted other kindergartners to experience the satisfaction that she found in her expanding horizons. With the kindergarten club Mrs. Putnam had founded in 1874 as a beginning, the two leaders together developed the Chicago Kindergarten Club in 1883. The twenty kindergartners in Chicago at the time became its initial members. The Club met every Saturday morning for five years. Elizabeth was elected president and gave a course on Froebel's *Mother Play*. Eleanor Smith, composer and teacher of music for children, gave a three-year course in children's music. Mrs. Elizabeth Underhill gave a series of lectures on the building instincts of mankind as illustrated by great architecture, this with Elizabeth's rather unrealistic hope in mind that it would help teachers in expecting less haphazard blockbuilding by children; Denton J. Snider repeated the lectures on great literary classics that had done so much to enrich the life of St. Louis.

The Kindergarten Club further extended its influence by trying to establish relations between the kindergartens and the public schools. Mrs. Putnam continued her teacher training and soliciting funds from wealthy friends for establishment of kindergartens in churches and missions. Miss Eva B. Whitmore and Mrs. Mary Boomer Page were active in developing social settlement kindergartens; Annie Bryan placed emphasis upon the better physical development of children in her mission kindergartens; Mrs. Bertha Payne Newell undertook to demonstrate how kindergarten principles operated throughout the entire life of the child; and in 1889 the first kindergarten to find a home in a public school in Chicago—though not part of the system—was established in the Drexel School through the efforts of the club and the philanthropy of a friend.[15]

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[11] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, *Sketches*, p. 91.

The role of the mother in the education of children was always uppermost in Elizabeth Harrison's thinking. She was happy to find a strong ally, and a lifelong friend, in Mrs. John N. Crouse, mother of one of the Loring School children. With her assistance and approval of Mrs. Loring and Mrs. Putnam, Elizabeth developed a program for mothers. Though only two mothers attended the first meeting, with Mrs. Crouse's encouragement and Elizabeth's determination never to be a quitter, the classes steadily grew in popularity. By 1886 Dr. Denton J. Snider accepted the invitation to give his literary courses to the mothers and about the same time the mothers were admitted as associate members of the Kindergarten Club. The training classes at Loring School had been known as "Miss Harrison's Classes," but in 1887 they were given the official name of the Chicago Kindergarten and Training School with Miss Harrison and Mrs. Crouse as co-principals.

Elizabeth began her work with mothers with a course on her favorite, Froebel's *Mother Play*. In the Archives of National College of Education is a copy of the book full of her penciled marginal notes and other notes on bits of paper among the pages. She had written on the flyleaf the following expression of her strong feeling for the work:

> It reveals the process of the development of the instinctive life of childhood and converts the aimless action of mothers into an intelligent plan in a way which has never before been attempted. Froebel rightly calls this book a *Family Book* for only by its use in the family, in the hands of mothers, can it fulfill its purpose and contribute towards raising the family toward a level of human culture.
>
> Froebel took the institutions and industries of the race and made them into symbolic plays for the child, eliminating the accidental and non-essential, leading the child through his imagination into a rational relationship with the institutions of his race in the noblest and best form yet realized. Art points the Divine in the earthy—so does this book.[16]

A suggestion for carrying her work with mothers into another channel came to Elizabeth from Mrs. Anna Kendall, a wealthy widow who had been brought up on a farm. In one of her talks to mothers, Elizabeth had spoken of the delight of a group of children she had observed watching the metamorphosis of a caterpillar to a butterfly. Mrs. Kendall was so stimulated by the tale that with her childhood memories stirred she conceived the idea of having Elizabeth travel with her among farm mothers to sensitize them to the wonders of nature and to transfer their interest to their children. Her absorption in many facets of her Chicago work and the realization that she had little physical stamina for such a project made her reject this proposal. But it meant no abatement in her interest in parent education.

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[16] Elizabeth Harrison, an appreciation of Froebel written on the flyleaf of Froebel's *Mother Play* (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

By 1889, though strenuous and complicated, Elizabeth's life at forty had developed a clear pattern. The training college was established; the Chicago Kindergarten Association was flourishing in its self-improvement program and its influence on the public schools, church and settlement kindergartens; Elizabeth was in demand as a lecturer; the mothers' program was spreading an increasingly broader influence both on the understanding of children and on the cultural life of Chicago. Then an incident occurred that sent Elizabeth once more in search of still deeper preparation for her life work.

A young girl who had had two years of kindergarten training in Berlin with Frau Schrader, a niece and student of Froebel, applied for admission in the third year of the Chicago Kindergarten College. After explaining the program, Elizabeth Harrison told the young student to take charge, following the general plan but feeling free to use her own ideas. Miss Harrison observed her and was surprised that at the sand table instead of having the children press geometric forms into the sand, as Elizabeth's training had prescribed, the student had brought violets with her and had the children arrange them in the sand table in geometric forms. In block-building, again contrary to Elizabeth's training, the children selected the blocks from the closet according to their own desires and built houses of their own planning. Next they furnished the houses, again according to their own ideas. Elizabeth did not approve of any of this because she thought it would lead to scattered attention and not further the goal that she had been taught to be so important in her training in Chicago, St. Louis and New York. But, as always, the persistent scientific attitude that had remained with her since high school days determined her to go to Germany and see Froebel's work at its source. Her good friend, Mrs. Crouse, decided to go with her and the two would spend the summer together in Germany.

To Germany for Further Study

ARRIVING IN BERLIN, THE VISITORS SOUGHT OUT FRAU SCHRADER'S Training School. After observing Frau Schrader's work they found the student had been correct in her application of it. The children engaged in all manner of activities not included in the Froebel occupations: set the table, washed the dishes, fed and cared for the chickens in the poultry yard, dusted the chairs, set the room in order, made their own paste for paper work, made their own jelly and preserves. Elizabeth found all this "extremely utilitarian." When she realized that all the children came from a slum district and that Frau Schrader was trying to teach them habits of cleanliness and economy, she concluded that the German teacher "had unconsciously substituted *reformative* activities for *formative* ones." Later, she noted the same tendency in the mission kindergartens in the United States. Although not accepting Frau Schrader's methods, Elizabeth saw more clearly as a result of this experience the need for adapting activities and materials to the home environment of the children. They responded readily when an activity bore a personal relationship to them. This deeper insight made her take issue later with Susan Blow's insistence in the IKU Committee of Nineteen on the uniformity of kindergarten programs.

While in Germany Elizabeth had planned to visit the Baroness von Marenholz-Buelow in Dresden. She had read the Baroness' *Reminiscences of Froebel* and felt that it had given her more insight into the heart of childhood and how it could be applied than even Froebel's own book, *The Education of Man*. She had written in advance to the Baroness and had received an invitation to visit her. Susan Blow had written the Baroness a letter of introduction of Miss Harrison and Mrs. Crouse. Their landlady in Dresden had advised them that five o'clock was the proper hour for their call. Accordingly, they appeared at the home of the Baroness promptly at five. They presented their cards to the maid who looked surprised but ushered them into a nearby room.

Left to themselves, the visitors looked about them. Elizabeth was utterly amazed. Later she described the room as the most "vulgar" she had ever seen—artificial ivy leaves sprawled over the walls, the plant itself in a pot of earth; a dilapidated stuffed bird perched on a dying plant; papier-mâché "ornaments" decorating the mantle; pink crepe paper tying back cheap drapes at the window—everything expressing artificiality and sham. How could a woman who had written *Reminiscences* have such a room? And then the maid returned to say that the Baroness was resting and could not see them!

There is no question from Elizabeth's reaction this day in Dresden that, despite her spirituality, she was capable of angry emotional outbursts. She tells in *Sketches* how she threw herself upon her bed and completely gave way to her feelings. Could she ever believe in anything or anybody again if Froebel, the man she had believed him to be, the man who had helped establish her faith in God and interpret the meaning of religion to her, would have a woman like the Baroness for a friend and interpreter? Finally exhausted, she fell asleep and slept until morning.

She awoke to find a note from the Baroness inviting her and Mrs. Crouse to call that evening at six o'clock and to spend each day from six to eight with her while they were in Dresden. Elizabeth was all for not going but was finally persuaded by Mrs. Crouse to give it a try. This time they were received in a large, beautiful and dignified library. The Baroness was reclining on a couch, having severely sprained her ankle, and her young niece gave this explanation for her aunt's not rising. The Baroness received her guests most graciously and as Elizabeth looked into that truly noble countenance, her resentment vanished. (Elizabeth later discovered that the "vulgar" room belonged to a protegé of the Baroness.)

The Baroness plunged into the purpose of the visit, showing herself eager to give of her experience and also to find out how Froebel was interpreted in America. They reviewed together *The Education of Man* and *Mother Play*, read and discussed some of the Baroness's own writing, always emphasizing the fundamental philosophy behind Froebel's educational theory. Elizabeth learned that the Baroness, unlike Frau Schrader, concerned herself but little with Froebel's materials and, in fact, knew little about them.

One day the Baroness said wistfully, "I have taught Froebel's great educational ideal for forty years. I do not recall to how many students, but I have had only four who have really understood what I meant by 'Unity.' Just the one thought of Unity was all that Froebel called for. All the rest of his training was simply this way or that of helping the child to feel connected with and interested in all about him: with Nature, with his fellow man, and with God. Why is it so hard to get people to understand this?" Why? Why? It is the cry of the thinker through the ages who probes to depths inaccessible to the common mind and sadly sees the form mistaken for the substance.

On parting, the Baroness took Elizabeth's hands in hers and said, "You have come; I can go now." From that time on, Elizabeth said that the emphasis in her teaching was on simplicity and sympathy in dealing with children and the need of broad culture on the part of teachers.[17]

Continued Growth with Varied Activities

RETURNING TO CHICAGO ELIZABETH PLUNGED INTO ALL ASPECTS OF her former work with renewed zeal. The work of her first five years continued to grow and expand. The next year, 1890, her classes for mothers became a three-year program of Chicago Kindergarten Training School. In 1893 the name was again changed, a tribute to its progress, to Chicago Kindergarten College, and new quarters were found at 10 East Van Buren Street, where it remained until 1907. The growth had been truly phenomenal. Between 1885 and 1892, the five students and two mothers enrolled in Miss Harrison's first classes had increased respectively to 104 and 453, with a total enrollment during the interval of 465 and 2,522. By 1892 the program included a department each for teachers, mothers, nurses, and one called "philanthropic."[18]

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[17] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, *Sketches*, pp. 122-130.

The Mothers' Club had flourished to the point where Elizabeth became ambitious to extend its influence nation-wide and, with Mrs. Crouse, dared to issue invitations all over the country to a convention in Chicago in 1894. It was a bold venture in the midst of which Elizabeth was called away because of the serious illness of her sister Mollie, and many slips were made in the mechanics of preparation. Attended by 1,200 parents from all over the country, it was the first nation-wide mothers' meeting and the forerunner of others leading to parent-teacher organizations, one of the distinctive features in American education. Numbered among the guest speakers were John Dewey and Elizabeth, who gave one of the main addresses. Her opening sentence challenged the mothers, giving them a sense of importance through their naturally endowed equipment:

> Froebel states that the mother's maternal instinct would guide her as unerringly as does the maternal instinct in lower orders of creation were she not hindered by customs, prejudice, or error.

With her gift of illustration she showed how all people are prone to let customs, prejudice and error stand in the way of following instincts. The remainder of the address was a truly remarkable condensation of Froebelian method as a guide to parents in using their natural instincts.[19] It is obvious that Elizabeth had not been influenced by the barrage of prevalent psychological questioning as to the nature and existence of instincts. Her psychology as in all her teaching and writing was still the conservative textbook approach of an older generation.

Elizabeth Harrison was active, too, in the Chicago Columbian Exposition in 1893. A number of model kindergartens were conducted during the entire period of the exposition, including one by the Chicago Kindergarten Club. Elizabeth Harrison was active in all the work, and with

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[18] Elizabeth Harrison, *The Kindergarten as an Influence in Modern Civilization* (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten College, 1893), insertion of Chicago Kindergarten Prospectus (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).
[19] *Op. cit., History of the Kindergarten Movement in the Midwestern States and in New York* (Washington, D. C.: Association for Childhood Education, 1938), p. 21.

William Hailmann and Earl Barnes participated in a discussion of symbolism.[20]

From the beginning of her career Elizabeth Harrison kept notes on all she did. Many of them in little notebooks have been preserved in the Archives of the National College of Education. They reveal her thinking during this period.

In an address in Springfield, Illinois, in 1899 (date not noted) she tried to give an overview of the total kindergarten program and its most significant meanings. She began philosophically:

> . . . Froebel always and at all times insisted that his kindergarten system was to develop the Divine side of child nature . . .
>
> The kindergarten calls all art, all science, all literature, all philosophy to its aid . . .
>
> I do not decry physical education, but *mind* moves the world. The intellect must become the servant of the higher self. This is the image of God within.
>
> We can measure a man by the breadth of his sympathies.
>
> The principle of participation is always glorious to the heart which loves humanity.
>
> Froebel would have each little child so trained that he sees the good as naturally as he breathes. Else we *rob* him of his birthright . . .[21]

Notes for her mothers' classes during the spring of 1890 expressed her grasp of principle and the depth of feeling animating her work. At times the feeling was so strong that it amounted to defensiveness. Thus, in her courses' opening lecture she began with a discussion of Herbert Spencer's *Essay on Education*, characterizing it as one of the most widely read books of the day. She showed how "with stinging sarcasm" Spencer points out that nothing has been done in education to prepare the pupil for parenthood. She replied, "It has always seemed strange to me that a soul as restlessly discontented with the existing state of things as was Mr. Spencer's did not in some way come in contact with Pestalozzi's and Froebel's work already established some twenty years in Switzerland and Germany." Then abruptly she left Spencer to his fate and proceeded to show "what *can* be done, not what has *not* been done." The rest of that lecture and the ones that followed did just that.

The lectures included study of the instincts and history of the race—tribal stage, nomadic, and the sense of law—both echoes of the prevailing psychology, the latter indicating that she may have been influenced by G. Stanley Hall's Culture Epoch Theory. The Scriptures, however, she declared to be "a more direct revelation of God's will." After discussing the practical details of the program, she closed with the determination to emphasize simplicity and directness in her teaching:

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[20] Nina Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education* (N. Y.: Macmillan Co., 1908), p. 154.

[21] Elizabeth Harrison, Address given at Springfield, Illinois, 1899 (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

> You violate the right wholesome growth of your child and force him forward out of childhood's needed and longed-for simplicity by your ruffles and laces and embroideries and multitude of ribbons.[22]

In an address to parents in Riverside, Illinois, she discussed one of the educational issues of the day, "The Relation of the Kindergarten to the Public School." She made a plea for the distinctive function of the kindergarten as a transition step between home and school, as a time "too early" for books but a precious time to begin definite observations. She stressed the need of the young child for that companionship with his peers which the home cannot give and the value of alienation from his mother part of the day. Defining the goals of the public schools as good citizenship and the development of the individual resources of the child, she stated that the kindergarten lays a foundation for the more formal work of the school by developing clear and correct impressions, self-confidence, skills and creativity, respect for law, and sympathy with mankind.[23]

The need for identity with those whom one is teaching was her emphasis with a class of seniors at Chicago Kindergarten College in an opening session. She asked the students to recall their sensations and impressions—how dazed they were and how often discouraged in their freshman year and their emphasis in the junior year on what each himself could do. Now, as seniors, their task was to review what they had gained by giving it to others. She then counselled them, as seniors, to make social contacts with the new "timid beginners," to learn something of their personal lives, to find their needs and to help them with their work.[24]

Elizabeth Harrison was frequently called on to speak at colleges. In one address given at the Summer School of the South at Knoxville, Tennessee, she expressed her view on the role of women. She did not place one sex above another, but maintained their different qualities and roles: "The man is sterner and more aggressive; the woman gentler and more persuasive." She talked of the ideal avenue the kindergarten provides for using and developing the distinctive traits of women, but disclaimed any intention of giving the impression "that all women should spend their time in play with little children—although it would not hurt any of them to spend part of their hours thus." Of a woman trained as a kindergartner she said, "Her own body becomes a great and beautiful instrument; her voice another; music and art her handmaidens; and the great world of literature is explored for stories; and all of this is taken up not for self but for the little child." [25]

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[22] Elizabeth Harrison, Notes for Mothers' Classes (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

[23] ——, Address to Parents, Notes (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

[24] ——, Talk to Seniors, Notes (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

Harriet Howard, who knew her well at this time, wrote appreciatively:

> It is pleasant to recall my early professional days during which I was privileged to have time-to-time contacts with Elizabeth. I am again reminded of the great debt I owe her for the inspiration and the challenge which she gave, whether in public lecture, a class period, or a public interview. She was a great woman and a born teacher, if such there are.
>
> And yet I well remember the deep disappointment I experienced with my first glimpse of her—tall, thin, slightly stooped, with serious almost stern expression betraying suffering, with simply arranged dark hair touched with gray, and clad in a black dress with a small throw over her shoulders and a red carnation (the College flower) pinned at her shoulder. However, my feeling of disappointment lasted only for the time it took her to walk the length of the assembly room to the platform where she began to speak.
>
> Immediately she seemed a different woman. She identified with her audience at once. Her countenance relaxed and lightened, her dark eyes glowed with enthusiasm and inspiration. There was a touch of the dramatic as she proceeded with her clearly defined message, measuring up to my highest expectations created largely through the reading of some of her articles and books as well as reports of her students.
>
> She was an apt conversationalist. Her humor was delightful and subtle. Her keen sense of justice made her staunch in defense of what she believed was right. She was faithful to her philosophy, yet open-minded toward inquiry—and urged her graduates to *go, get* and *test* the new.[26]

Elizabeth characterized this time of her life as "a hurricane of activities." [27] Inevitably it led to a break. It would have taxed the strongest, and Elizabeth, physically, was anything but that. The climax came in the fall of 1895; added to all the rest came preparation for a kindergarten convention in Portland, Oregon. Not only was she to play a prominent role at the convention, but she was to make eight stops to give speeches enroute. In the midst of all this came a call from a young kindergartner begging for help in a difficult situation, and Elizabeth added this one more thing to her schedule, one thing too much. Speaking in a crowded overheated room, leaving late at night in the cold, being tired, she contracted pneumonia and for days lay between life and death. As soon as she was sufficiently recovered she was ordered by her doctor to take a complete rest in Pasadena, California. After spending the winter there, on the further advice of her doctor, she lived a simple life in the foothills of the Sierra Madre Mountains, Southern California, for another year.

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[25] Elizabeth Harrison, The Kindergarten and Higher Education, Address given at the Summer School of the South, Knoxville, Tennessee, July 17, 1904, Notes (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

[26] Harriet Howard, Letter to writer, December 19, 1966.

[27] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, *Sketches*, pp. 157-171.

In the Foothills and Renewal

ELIZABETH WAS FORTUNATE IN FINDING MARGARET SAYRE, A FRIEND and former student, who had also gone to California for her health. They found an old pioneer cabin and lived a simple life far from the hustle and bustle of urban civilization. She tells the story briefly in *Sketches*, dwelling mainly on the beauties of the landscape, the physical aspects of their lives, and the restorative powers of nature.[28] In *Two Children of the Foothills*[29] she tells of the human experiences of that year. These centered around two mountain children, Lena about six and her brother Georgie about four and a half. Their family were the nearest neighbors living about a quarter of a mile away, and they became daily companions of the two women. Both kindergartners soon found themselves teaching the two children the plays and songs of *Mother Play* and the occupations of a kindergarten program. Elizabeth had a good opportunity to try out the insight she had gained in her European experience of the need for adaptation to the home environment of the children.

The book, *Two Children of the Foothills*, gives in detail the adaptations she made in teaching these children who had never heard a story or a song before and whose lives were restricted to a little, scattered mountain community. A chapter for each includes the songs and poems of *Mother Play*: "The Pigeon House," "The Coo-coo Song," "The Play with the Limbs," "The Weather Vane," "The Carpenter," "The Bridge," "The Light Bird," "The Little Window," "The Wolf and the Wild Boar," "The Five Knights," "The Church Bells."

The closing chapter is an account of the Christmas they had in their foothills home and how they tried to inculcate in the children the meaning of Christmas by having them make gifts for their mother and father and "Grossmutter," their grandmother. Gradually they included more and more of the neighbors until no one was omitted and the community caught the spirit and all produced simple homemade gifts. They brought the Christmas tree from the woods, trimmed it, and finally the gladsome day was celebrated in the home of Lena and Georgie with every member of the community present. The final touch came when Grossmutter took from an old trunk the dress she had put away for her burial and decided that it would not be wrong to wear it just once more. One feels that Elizabeth was expressing sublimated maternal love she had lavished so abundantly upon children when, at the close of this chapter of her life, she wrote:

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[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 157-171.

[29] Elizabeth Harrison, *Two Children of the Foothills* (N. Y.: Macmillan Co., Sixth Edition, 1922), adapted.

> Blessed be motherhood even if it must be the mothering of other women's children.[30]

Returning after two years refreshed from the simple life in contact with nature in the foothills of Southern California, Elizabeth Harrison again took up her life in Chicago where she had left it in 1895. Her pattern of living was too well formed and too satisfying to submit to any radical change. As before, she again taught children, teachers and parents; wrote both for and about children; worked with organizations of both parents and teachers; and continued her never-ending quest for deeper understanding of life and education. Lena and Georgie and their families and neighbors had added much to the last, particularly in greater clarification of the meaning of adaptation of education to the unique needs of the individual.

Writing for Parents, Teachers and Children

DESPITE HER MANY VARIED ACTIVITIES, ELIZABETH HARRISON FOUND time for writing. No doubt she was helped by her habit of note-taking she so assiduously cultivated. Furthermore, all of her writing was the outgrowth of her teaching or closely related to it. Her first publication (in 1899), for example, grew out of her students' need for book lists. *A List of Books for Children Recommended from the Kindergarten Standpoint* came out opportunely before Christmas. It is divided into several lists: *List 1*, "To Be Read to Children," includes Froebel's *Mother Play* and *Nursery Songs*, Aesop's *Fables* and current stories by Eleanor Smith, Emilie Poullson and others. *List 2*, "To Be Read with Children," paraphrasing the text and talking with the children, is a combination of classic and modern literature including such titles as Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales*, Charles Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, Dickens' *Child's History of England*. These two major lists are followed by one on science for children and another on books for mothers, the latter with focus on the writings of Froebel, von Marenholz-Buelow, Emma Marwedel, Rousseau and Pestalozzi.

Although the titles for kindergarten children sound rather mature, the publication title indicates they are selected from "the standpoint of the kindergarten," not necessarily meaning they are all for kindergarten children. More important, remembering Elizabeth's excitement over "just the sound of Cousin Sally's reading of Shakespeare," she wanted children to have similar experiences. She indicated this in the text when she wrote

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

"It is well to lead a child to the world's *great books* as soon as possible." Also, "After all it is not so important what your *child* reads as what *you* read."[31]

In 1891 she wrote her first book based on her lectures to mothers, *The Influence of the Kindergarten on Modern Civilization.* Her summer in Europe with its relics of the past around her had given her added interest in history and in this essay she emphasizes the importance of history in understanding the present. "Civilization has its evolution as self-evident as the evolution declared by science," she writes. As in most of her writings for adults she combines the essentials of Froebel's philosophy and its practical application. It is interesting to note one thought not directly related to her theme: "Philanthropy is not enough; causes must be found that make for poverty"—interesting because this was written when philanthropy was an accepted way of life and the College itself maintained a Department of Philanthropy.[32]

Elizabeth Harrison's belief in the important role of literature in education is illustrated by another of her books, *The Relationship Between the Kindergarten and Great Literature—Shakespeare.* "The woman whose lot is to nourish childhood needs *insight* and *inspiration* more than knowledge and training. Go to literature," she advises. She uses two themes of Shakespeare to develop her idea: man's need to return to nature and environment's influence on character. For the first she asks that we return to nature "for the quieting of the restless, tired life; for the subduing of the rebellious, selfish will; for teaching the difference between the essentials of life and those non-essentials which the extravagances of city life lead us to overvalue." As examples she gives Prospero on an unknown island, Belarious with the two sons of Cymbeline in a solitary cave; the Duke in Arden; Rosalin in peasant garb. For the second theme, the influence of environment on character, she illustrates Macbeth's transformation of character through gnawing ambition; Lear passing through the woes of old age; Brutus becoming the tool of Cassius; Hamlet's indecision.[33]

A major work completed by Elizabeth Harrison at this time was *A Study of Child Nature,* representing a culmination of her teaching. She bases her study on her category of instincts:

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[31] Elizabeth Harrison, *A List of Books for Children Recommended from the Kindergarten Standpoint,* unnumbered leaflet (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten Training School, 1889), p. 31.

[32] ——, *The Influence of the Kindergarten on Modern Civilization* (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten Training School, 1891).

[33] ——, *The Relationship Between the Kindergarten and Great Literature—Shakespeare* (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten College, 1893), pp. 6, 7.

Instincts	*Corresponding Training*
The Body	
Activity	Muscles
Investigation	Senses
The Mind	
Power	Emotions
Love	Affections
Continuity	Reason
Justice	Punishments
Recognition	Will
The Soul	
Reverence	Worship
Imitation	Faith [34]

In none of this is there any suggestion of the probing of the psychological world of her time into the whole field of instincts or of the controversies raging around the theories of McDougal, John B. Watson, Thorndike, Freud. Confident in her own classification as neatly lending itself to the philosophical theory in which she believed, she went on promulgating an education she believed would lead children ultimately to Divine unity of the Froebelian philosophy. To support her position she draws copiously on thoughts of great thinkers of literature.

It was interesting to find two published study outlines on the book—one dated 1915 by L. M. Sackett, Ph.D., at the University of Texas and another dated 1897 produced by a women's group in Akron, Ohio.

Elizabeth Harrison's first story for children was a Christmas publication, an adaptation of a German legend: *The Legend of the Christ Child: A Story for Christmas Eve.*[35] It is the story like many others of its kind, of a ragged child wandering cold and hungry through the streets of the city on a Christmas Eve and, after being refused admission to the homes of the well-off, is admitted to a humble household and is then transformed into the Christ Child. Francis M. Arnold, a friend, after hearing Elizabeth tell the story wrote a musical accompaniment to it. Elizabeth was pleased with it and used it. One time after telling the story against the musical background, she wrote:

> I did what I did for the joy of hearing that beautiful music each year and the fun of forgetting who I was and for the time being becoming the various characters—even the Christ Child—for I always felt myself "rising higher and higher" until sometimes when the music ceased and the applause began I was bewildered for a moment to find myself standing on a school platform.[36]

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[34] Elizabeth Harrison, *A Study of Child Nature from the Kindergarten Standpoint* (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten College, 1895).

[35] ——, *The Legend of the Christ Child: A Story for Christmas Eve* (Evanston, Illinois: National College of Education, 1916).

[36] Excerpt from a letter of Elizabeth Harrison to Francis Drake (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

Another children's story, *The Story of Christopher Columbus for Little Children*,[37] was told and later written at the request of one of the Mothers' Classes in October 1892 to assist parents in helping children understand the coming celebration. It was printed by the *Chicago Tribune* in dedicating the Columbian Exposition Building to Christopher Columbus. The major events of Columbus' life are told in childish imagery. It ends with the discovery of America and omits the sad events that followed.

In 1894 she attempted no less a task than to bring Dante to children. In the preface to the book, *The Vision of Dante, A Story for Little Children and a Talk to Their Mothers*,[38] she tells why, in the light of her belief in the potency of inspiring literature in the lives of children, she wants, in particular, to bring to them *The Divine Comedy*. More than an echo of Susan Blow is in her statement:

> Is not the reason why *The Divine Comedy* is called a world poem to be found in these significant facts: it portrays the sudden awakening of a human soul to the consciousness of having gone astray; it shows the loathsome nature of sin; it pictures the struggle necessary to be freed as the soul is ready to be helped; and at last it declares that the vision of God will come to the soul which perseveres in the struggle? These are the essential truths which make the great poem of Dante one of the masterpieces of the world of art. May not it—as well as all other truly great things—be given to children in a simple way?

To give Dante to children in a simple way was anything but a simple task. To translate the concepts of love, sin, redemption, suffering, struggle, faith, perseverance into the language of children and to carry them from their mundane environment of home and community into the infinity of the universe required extraordinary skill and faith in the supreme value inherent in the poem. It was this faith in the spiritual truths exemplified sublimely in Dante's work that illuminated the efforts of Elizabeth Harrison, Susan Blow and those like them who believed it was their mission, through education, to guide children in the way of these truths.

When one recalls the horrors of the seven rings of hell as depicted by Dante and the grim Dore engravings that terrified many children * in Elizabeth Harrison's generation, *The Divine Comedy* would seem unpalatable fare for children. By omitting the most horrifying and modifying some other incidents, this lover of childhood mingles the sternness of justice with tenderness and love. The fierce animals that block the wanderer's path are there but not the abhorrent fiends and the tormented sinners; the seven deadly sins in terms of children's faults are coupled with the opposite cardinal virtues; and when the way is hard beyond endurance, help is given by both angels and men. Running through all is the thread of Beatrice's love that leads the wanderer eventually to God. And—the entire book in its physical make-up, including the illustrations, is very beautiful.

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[37] Elizabeth Harrison, *The Story of Christopher Columbus for Little Children* (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten College, 1893).

[38] ———, *The Vision of Dante, A Story for Little Children and a Talk to Their Mothers* (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten College, 1894).

* The writer recalls how long it took her, as an adult, to decide to read *The Divine Comedy* because of the terror she had experienced as a child in seeing the Dore engravings in the big edition in her home.

How much of this can little children understand? Probably very little. Elizabeth Harrison, of course, knew this. It was not immediate understanding at which she aimed. In "The Talk to Mothers," included in the book, she stated: "It is the great poets who throw essential truth back into its embodied or symbolic forms so that the imagination may see it pictured forth even when the reasoning power is not strong enough to grasp it in its abstract form."

Susan Blow brought Dante directly to teachers and mothers both in her teaching and masterly writings on the poet, hoping that the enlarged vision the poetry gave to adults would in turn be transmitted to children. She believed, and earnestly tried to learn how to do it, that the greatest truths can and should be brought to children.

Shop Windows,[39] like much of Elizabeth Harrison's adult writings, is based on a lecture given in the mothers' department of the Chicago Kindergarten College. It is a plea for the cultivation of sensitivity, "for eyes that see and ears that hear—the inner and the outer eyes and ears." She tells of her two weeks in Dresden when daily she went to the art gallery, spending long hours in the room in which hangs the Sistine Madonna—and its growing meaning for her through both the outer and the inner eye. (The photograph of Elizabeth sitting in her office at the College in front of the large and beautiful copy of the Sistine Madonna is the frontispiece of *Sketches.*)

After this introduction she builds the theme around what the shop windows in a city can mean. She shows how chapters of anthropology, evolution, sociology, ethics, poetry can be stimulated by the displays of clothes, food, furniture, and by changes in the character of materials as one passes from one neighborhood to another. She shows how the foundation for such sensitivity can be laid in childhood through such stories in *Mother Play* as "The Toyman and the Maiden," "The Toyman and the Boy."

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[39] Elizabeth Harrison, *Shop Windows* (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten College, 1900).

Misunderstood Children,[10] published in 1910, consists of a foreword and anecdotes of children's behavior, most of it undesirable, and ways of improvement. In the foreword Elizabeth sketches the evolution of religious and philosophic concepts and predicts that psychology will gradually explain man as philosophy and religion explain God. Once again she indicates the compatibility of religion and science as she feels it. She credits psychology as having, to date, made certain contributions to the understanding of children:

> Heredity and environment must be studied in the understanding of children.
>
> The child's bodily condition reacts upon his mental condition.
>
> The mind reacts upon the body.
>
> Too much license is as bad as too much authoritative control.

It needs to be remembered that these statements were not as shopworn in Elizabeth's day as at present. She illustrates how violation of the above concepts leads to trouble. Four-year-old Mary is defiant because her mother does not understand her need to climb the stairs and orders her to sit down. A child experimenting with velocity and gravity by throwing articles of different sizes and weights over the porch rail is punished for destructiveness. In most instances Elizabeth suggests common-sense treatment. Her pronouncements seem naíve today in her reliance on the immediate wise word or action to correct what probably would be considered today merely a symptom of a deep-seated condition, requiring far more sophisticated handling.

During these years at the College, Elizabeth Harrison made significant contributions to children's literature. In particular, two of her stories, *The Stone Cutter*[11] and *Offero, the Giant,*[12] are typical of her belief in the ethical value of stories.

The Stone Cutter is a legend adapted from the Japanese. A stone cutter has worked a long time on a huge rock in the effort to fit it into a place in the temple to Buddha. He becomes discontented and begs Buddha to make him into a grandee. He gets his wish but is not satisfied. Appealing again to Buddha he is granted a second wish, now to be an emperor. The story goes on with a succession of wishes, all of them granted but none of them satisfying, until he finally asks to become the rock on which he had been working. He feels a scratching and begs to become once more the stone cutter so he might work on the rock. At the end he hears a voice saying, "At last thou seest." As with the earlier legend of *The*

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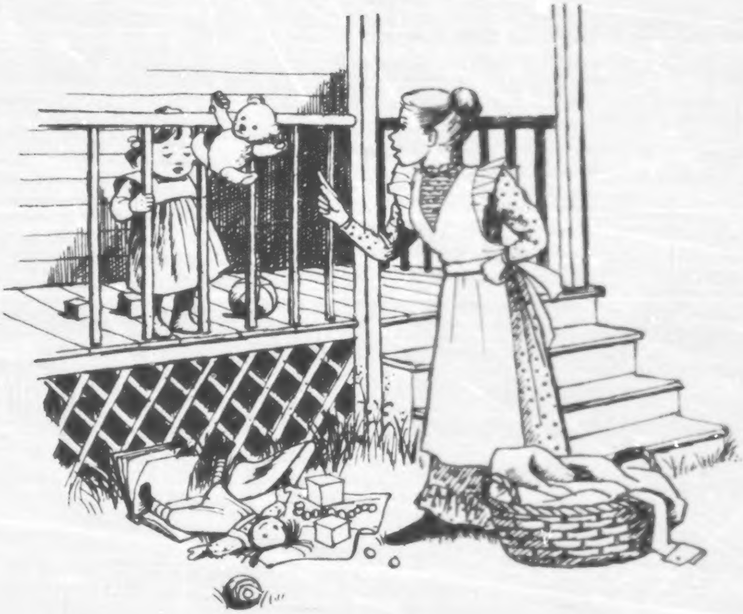
[10] Elizabeth Harrison, *Misunderstood Children* (Boston: The Stafford Co., 1910).
[11] ——, *The Stone Cutter*, a Japanese legend with musical arrangements by Francis M. Arnold (Chicago: Central Publishing Co., 1906).
[12] ——, *Offero, the Giant, A Christmas Eve Story* (Chicago: The Central Publishing Co., 1912).



Arabella experiments.

Christ Child, Francis M. Arnold composed a musical accompaniment. In the published text, the music for the several parts of the story are given with explanation for their use—themes from Chopin, Wagner, Schubert, Beethoven, Verdi and Richard Strauss.

In her dedication of *Offero, the Giant, A Christmas Eve Story* to her lifetime friend, Jean Carpenter Arnold (Mrs. Francis Arnold), Elizabeth Harrison gives one of the motives for story-telling: "To Jean Carpenter Arnold to whom I am indebted for helping me realize that no abstract ethical teaching will have the impact on the child as that of the beauty of a strong, brave life told in simple story form."

The story tells of Offero, Offer or Opher, as he is variously called, a lazy giant who is stimulated to activity by hearing a passer-by comment that one of his size and strength should serve the greatest ruler on earth. Opher sets out to find that ruler. He serves, in turn, the Governor, the

Emperor and Satan, but leaves each when he finds his master is afraid of someone. His search finally leads him to the Cross, and a hermit tells him the story of the Christ. Offero is impressed, and from then on he takes up his abode by a raging waterfall and helps wayfarers through it. On Christmas Eve he helps a child across and he becomes the Christ Child.[13]

To Italy for Study with Montessori

IN 1912 THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION ASKED ELIZABETH Harrison to go to Italy to study the work of Mme. Montessori; Elizabeth gladly accepted for all her life she had sought every opportunity to acquaint herself firsthand with the work of an educator who gave promise of throwing additional light on how to meet the needs of children. After five months in Italy she submitted a report of her observations, published by the U. S. Bureau of Education in 1914.[14] In his letter of transmittal of the bulletin, P. P. Claxton, then Commissioner of Education, wrote: "Many kindergartners welcome every new truth. The International Kindergarten Union sent Elizabeth Harrison, President of the Chicago Kindergarten College [the name had been changed again in 1893, to study Mme. Montessori's methods."]

Elizabeth Harrison never lost the art of observation she had started to develop as a student and continued to cultivate throughout her professional life. Her report, therefore, has the particular value of providing objective data of the procedures used by Mme. Montessori. In addition, her comments, always severely separated from her data, have the advantage of broad experience for their interpretation of what she had observed.

Elizabeth expressed her views on the salient features of the Montessori method: the principle of freedom, didactic material, exercise of the muscles, training of the senses, "the silent game."

Elizabeth liked the emphasis that Mme. Montessori placed upon self-direction as expressed in the freedom of the children to move about the spacious room and outdoors and in their selection of the material on which they wished to work. She doubted, however, its practicability in the crowded American classroom. But while she agreed that children needed to be freed from adult authority, she felt equally that they at times definitely needed such authority and guidance.

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Elizabeth Harrison, *The Montessori Method and the Kindergarten* (Washington, D. C.: Department of Interior, January 5, 1914), adapted.

Elizabeth approved the training of the muscles and sense of touch to which Mme. Montessori gave so much emphasis. She noted the similarity in this with the importance Froebel gave to muscle training; but she even went so far as to suggest that Froebel, in his emphasis on the sense of power that control of the muscles gave children, may have underestimated its physical values. She approved, too, the importance Mme. Montessori gave to the developing of the sense of touch and its application to learning the alphabet through tracing sand paper letters.

Much as Elizabeth approved of developing the senses, she parted company with Mme. Montessori on its purpose. She wrote, "Owing to Mme. Montessori's as yet inadequate theory of the nature of the self or ego, she believes that all mental activity depends upon the vividness and lasting nature of sense impressions. . . . There is a higher value in refining the sense perception until the individual is saved from the coarse, sensual indulgences of the appetites of the body." [15] This is in line with other statements by Elizabeth suggestive of her underlying asceticism when she advises that children be taught that food is for nourishment and not for pleasurable indulgence.

Elizabeth seemed intrigued with "the silent game." She describes how the teacher makes movements of her own body in complete silence while the child imitates her. Elizabeth comments, "The wonderful silence in these Roman schools is from a will actively awakened within the child by his own volition." [16]

Elizabeth sums up the limitations of the method as: overemphasis on the individual and insufficient group experience; lack of storytelling and dramatic expression; lack of materials for self-expression; and, to Elizabeth the most serious of all, the absence of religious training. She then concludes: "In spite of the limitations of Mme. Montessori's present stage she has made a better understanding of young children possible. She has given much which every earnest teacher and mother should know and apply." [17] Though this might be considered damning with faint praise, there is in her analysis the openmindedness so characteristic of her to the contributions of other scientific researchers. This is generalized in the last years of her life when, commenting on the Montessori experience in *Sketches*, she wrote: "I do not think that Froebel created a final system of education, nor do I believe that Mme. Montessori has uttered the last word. Anything so indefinite as the unfolding of the human soul cannot be grasped by any one mortal. Each teacher may add his or her message; the rest of us can only weigh and accept that which seems best."[18] Here Elizabeth is speaking with the voice of science.

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

Liberal-Conservative in IKU

STRONGLY INDIVIDUAL IN TEMPERAMENT AND CHARACTER AS ELIZABETH was, enjoying as she did her own self-expression in writing, she found her greatest fulfillment in the growth of others—hence her activity in organizations and the success she had in their development. She saw her "Miss Harrison's classes" become a full-fledged college, one that promised to become one of the leading teachers colleges in the United States. Through the courage she and Mrs. Crouse had in going beyond their own local mothers' club to the call for a national convention of mothers in 1894, she saw the movement spread five years later to other regions and grow until the National Congress of Parents and Teachers was organized and chartered in 1897 by Phoebe A. Hearst and Alice M. Lillian Birney. Had she lived longer she would have seen its branches in practically every school district in the United States.

It was probably in the International Kindergarten Union that Elizabeth Harrison found her organizational abilities utilized on the broadest scale. She was a member of: the advisory committee, from the organization of the Union in 1892 until 1910; the committee on teacher training, in 1902 and from 1909 to 1916; the parents' committee, from 1902 to 1907; the committee organized by Commissioner Claxton on cooperation between the International Kindergarten Union and the Federal Bureau of Education, from 1914 to 1923; the committee for providing a memorial to Froebel, from 1917 to 1921; the committee for cooperation with the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, from 1919 to 1921; the Committee of Fifteen, later to become the Committee of Nineteen, from its organization in 1902 to 1926. In addition she served as second vice-president in 1900, made many major addresses and committee reports, and was always an ardent participant in the many spirited debates in the IKU meetings.

The Committee of Nineteen provided Elizabeth Harrison with an effective opportunity for expressing her educational position. Combining devotion to the Froebelian philosophy and scientific appreciation, she became the natural leader of the Conservative-Liberal subcommittee.

It was said in the Susan Blow chapter that the growing differences of educational thought in IKU, rising from the challenge the newer philosophy and psychology gave to the Froebelian concepts, led to the division of the Committee into the Conservative, Liberal and Conservative-Liberal subcommittees, and that some of the members, finding

[18] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, *Sketches*, p. 182.

it difficult to choose between the second and third, served on both. This gave Elizabeth Harrison a very strong Conservative-Liberal subcommittee to chair. It included Patty Smith Hill (chairman for many years of the Liberal subcommittee), Alice E. Fitts, Mary Boomer Page, Jennie B. Merrill, Caroline Haven, Lucy Wheelock and Annie Laws,[19] all of whom except Miss Haven and Miss Laws had served also on the Liberal subcommittee. However, by the time the report was ready for press only Maria Kraus-Boelte and Lucy Wheelock were left to sign the report with Elizabeth Harrison. Miss Haven signed with the Liberals, and Miss Laws was the only member not also on the Liberal-Conservative subcommittee. However, as chairman she did *not* vote. The Liberal-Conservative report did exactly what its name suggests—bridged the two points of view. While it was in accord with the Liberal report in its acknowledgement of the need of change in the light of psychological research, there is over all of it an aura of the Froebelian philosophy. For example:

> Play is the self-active representation of the inner life from impulse and necessity.
>
> The trade plays of Froebel, we believe, are types of an important class which present in miniature important industrial processes and glorify work by showing the beauty of service.
>
> Play is history, poetry, and prophecy.
>
> We believe in the method of the Great Teacher, who taught by a Parable, and who used the common things of life to teach great lessons. "Life is more than meat," and there are values not measured by mathematics.
>
> The study of *Mother Play* is of supreme value to the teacher in that it gives hints of the "deep meaning which oft lies hid in childish play." . . . It recognizes the child of nature, the child of man, and the child of God.

The report closes with a "lastly," a plea to kindergartners to work toward a better adjustment of their work with the grades, to see the kindergarten as part of an organic whole.[20]

Elizabeth Harrison's brief six-page report in the published work is in marked contrast to the long detailed report of Patty Smith Hill and the even longer one of Susan Blow. While they amplified and elaborated theirs, she condensed hers. She simply reiterates and develops the salient points of the educational philosophy that had guided all her practice: the purpose of the kindergarten as a means of leading children to feel the interdependence of God, nature and man, and to a consciousness of self and the duties and responsibilities to others; play as the medium through which the child is led to a sense of such relationships; and the role of the ethical institutions of man in furthering these relationships.[51]

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[19] *The Kindergarten.* Report of the Committee of Nineteen on the Theory and Practice of the Kindergarten. Authorized by the International Kindergarten Union (Boston, New York, Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913), pp. 297-301.

[20] Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, Buffalo, N. Y., April 26-30, 1909. Adapted from pages 114-137.

After completing its report the Committee of Nineteen remained in existence, carrying forward many other assignments. Important among those in which Elizabeth Harrison played a significant part was the organization of work for children during World War I. Fanniebelle Curtis, who had been a member of the Conservative group in the Committee of Nineteen, a close friend of Susan Blow and one of the very active and able members of the International Kindergarten Union, had left her work as a supervisor of kindergartens in New York City to undertake work for the refugee children of war-devastated France. On a return trip in 1917, after two years of work in France, Miss Curtis spoke spontaneously at a dinner meeting of the Union in Boston, pleading with the group to help in the work. The response was immediate and generous, and the Committee of Nineteen was given the responsibility of developing and carrying out plans. The committee was divided into three subcommittees, with Annie Laws as chairman of the one on education, Miss Curtis on legislation and Miss Harrison on social service.[52]

The work was enthusiastically carried on. Besides giving all manner of aid in Europe,[53] Miss Harrison extended the work to the children in her own country, circularizing to every kindergarten training school a request that they get in touch with all appropriate social services in their community for cooperative effort "in the protection and conservation of child life, health, and happiness during the war in order that military necessity may not so obscure the needs and rights of children as to cause our nation to make the irreparable blunder which the warring countries of Europe now acknowledge they made." [54]

Now, once again, work beyond her strength took its toll of Elizabeth's vitality and, after suffering a heart attack, she and her doctor decided that it was time for her to retire from the presidency of the National Kindergarten College.

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[51] *Op. cit., The Kindergarten*, adapted, pp. 297-301.
[52] Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, Boston, 1917, pp. 129-131.
[53] See *Two Years in the Kindergarten Unit in France, 1919-1921*, published privately by Rachel Clark Neumann, a kindergartner in the Unit; see also her scrapbook kept during the period (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D.C.).
[54] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, *Sketches*, pp. 137-144.

Consolidating Experiences

NO ONE AS IMMERSED IN HER WORK AS WAS ELIZABETH HARRISON could relinquish it on retirement. Though her strength was gradually failing and, after the heart attack, she could not travel about as she had, she was far from idle. Her life was rich with music and books, friends, writing, and letter-writing that was one of the joys to herself and her friends.

The Arnolds were lifelong friends and some of their letters have been preserved. Edna Dean Baker, for several years an able member of the faculty of the College, succeeded Elizabeth as President. This was a great satisfaction to Elizabeth, and it is reflected in her letter at the time to Francis Arnold: "There are souls like Edna Baker that ray out happiness unconsciously." In another letter to Francis Arnold, who was planning to write a book on art, Elizabeth Harrison wrote in 1922: "If you will keep in mind the simplicity of expression needed by young and immature minds—mature minds are as a rule too set in their own views—and at the same time keep in mind the deep significance of the spiritual meaning of art, your book will be a success." [55]

Three major works were completed in the seven years preceding Elizabeth's death: *The Unseen Side of Child Life* in 1922; *Two Children of the Foothills*, also in 1922; and *Sketches Along Life's Road*, posthumously published.

Elizabeth dedicated *The Unseen Side of Child Life* to Belle Woodson, "for whom my love has steadily increased during the twenty years we have lived together." They continued to live together first in Chicago and then at Boerne, Texas, until Elizabeth's death in 1927. Shortly before her death she sent the following to Belle Woodson:

> It is coming, Old Earth, it is coming tonight
> On the snow flakes which cover thy sod
> The feet of the Christ Child fall gently and light,
> And the voice of the Christ Child tells out with delight
> That mankind are the children of God.
>
> Phillips Brooks
>
> This will make a beautiful greeting for next year's card.—E. H.

The Unseen Side of Child Life is deeply Froebelian and religious. It is purposely so as was suggested by Elizabeth, and she was aware of the coupling in the popular mind of Froebel and religion. She wrote, for example, "I think it is the frequent use of analogy in interpreting the spiritual life of man that has caused the kindergarten world to take a religious tone, which Dr. Stanley Hall has wittily called 'Froebelolatry.' "[57] The book itself is built on an analogy. The word "unseen" refers to the roots of a tree which give the tree the strength and nourishment needed to make it a noble specimen of its race. The text is a true summary of her cherished beliefs: the power of music in the life of the child, the need to instill reverence, the absorption by the child of the mood of those around him, the power of language in human growth, the play way of education, creativity and the development of imagination, and reverence.

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[55] Elizabeth Harrison, Letters to Francis Arnold (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

[56] Contributed by Clarissa Bacon, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

The last years of her life were given mainly to writing the *Sketches Along Life's Road*. It probably was not easy. In 1926 she wrote to Mrs. Kendall, her friend, who in the early days at the Loring School wanted her to carry her messages to rural mothers: "You probably know my increasing deafness makes that [Miss Woodson's reading aloud the manuscript of the *Sketches*] a fatiguing business. Gradually I am being shut away from the outside world, but thank the dear Lord—and thank Dr. Snider also—I have a rich inner world. A world of books and a world of lovely nature—where birds and flowers, trees and shrubs, stars and sunsets abound."[58]

Thus she approached the end of "Life's Road." The many tributes paid on her death—in magazine articles and during memorial services held at the college, in Davenport, and at the Chicago Woman's Club—bear homage to the many facets of her nature, her widespread contributions to education, and her ability to touch the human heart. Her own view of her achievement tells it well:

> My own contribution has been the spreading of the ideal that true education is self-activity and that this self-activity should begin in the pre-school age in the home, leading into all creative work. . . My great aim in all my normal work was to help the students interpret human development from finite and temporary objects into a world of infinite laws, and thus be able to lead the little child from physical activities into the world of imagination.[59]
>
> Surely a great day is dawning and as one sits in the shadow of accumulating years one believes that this vast awakening in education must check the greed for wealth that is weakening the nation.[60]

Contemplating Elizabeth Harrison's life leaves one with something of nostalgia for a time that is no more. There is in the feeling something oddly wistful. Is it the fear that nothing will ever again bring back the optimism, the idealism, the dedication, the faith that women like Elizabeth Harrison so consistently exemplified? A Froebelian in the deepest sense, Elizabeth Harrison looked discerningly to the future. She realized that in the very city in which she so staunchly defended her beliefs, Colonel Francis Parker and John Dewey fought for their convictions just as strongly held. They, too, would have their adherents. And after them new prophets would again be born.

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[57] Elizabeth Harrison, *The Unseen Side of Child Life* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), pp. 12, 23.

[58] ——, Letter to Mrs. Kendall (Archives, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois).

[59] *Op. cit.*, Harrison, *Sketches Along Life's Road*, p. 221.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

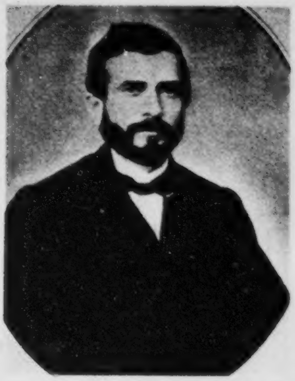
7

EDUCATION IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING

Some Superintendents Who Established Public Kindergartens

Courtesy, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Dr. William T. Harris, Superintendent of St. Louis Public Schools, 1867–1880, established the first *public* kindergarten in the United States in 1873.* Dr. Harris later became the U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1889–1906.



Courtesy, John Swett School, Martinez, California

Professor John Swett, Superintendent of San Francisco Public Schools, 1892–1896 and Deputy Supt., 1882–1892 (also California State Superintendent, 1863–1867), established *public* kindergartens in San Francisco in 1886. Between 1880 and 1886 two experimental kindergartens were placed in public schools.

Courtesy, LaPorte County Historical Society, LaPorte

Dr. William N. Hailmann, Superintendent of LaPorte (Indiana) Public Schools, 1883–1894, established *public* kindergartens in LaPorte in 1888. Mrs. Eudora Hailmann, his wife, had a training school for kindergarten-primary teachers in LaPorte, 1885–1894. (Earlier, Dr. Hailmann had also established kindergartens in Louisville, Kentucky.)

* *Editor's Note:* About 100 years later, 38 of the 50 states, American Samoa and Puerto Rico provide some form of public kindergarten.

Adapted from *Early Childhood Education* by the Education Commission of the States (Denver: The Commission, 1971), p. 81.

7

EDUCATION IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING

A Firm Foundation Laid by Froebelians

WHAT HAD THE EARLY LEADERS IN CHILDHOOD EDUCATION ACCOMplished now that one century was coming to a close and another beginning? For forty years those mentioned in these pages, and many others, had given to the cause of young children conviction, devotion, zeal and personal sacrifice seldom paralleled in education in any century. Overtly their goal of establishing kindergartens had been realized in one form or another all over the United States. In a number of states they had moved away from private or philanthropic support to an accepted place in the public school system.* Many local associations had become united in the effective International Kindergarten Union with contacts in other parts of the world. IKU had given practical support to the U. S. Bureau of Education and was working toward establishing in it a division for the education of young children. The influence of the leaders had begun to be felt in the primary grades; the specialized kindergarten training schools were broadening their curricula to include the grades; departments of kindergarten education in teachers' colleges and universities were becoming merged with departments of primary education. Home and school had begun to work together for the good of children, and wherever a good kindergarten was found there was also some form of home-school association. Just as the local kindergarten associations were branches of the International Kindergarten Union, local parent-teacher groups became units of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers through the organizational efforts of Phoebe A. Hearst and Alice Birney. With all their activities these hard-working women still found time to write: to record their proceedings in yearbooks in such detail as to provide the historian with a vivid picture of an evolving educational era and to produce both articles and books of influence in the educational world.

Significant as these achievements were, their greater strength existed in the firm foundation of enduring concepts and values upon which the leaders built. The concepts of *activity* as the basis of growth and of *unity* and *continuity* as basic growth processes would be reinterpreted in the light of new knowledge and deepening insights; but as long as there is faith in the value of each human life and in the importance of helping each life toward its fulfillment, these concepts and values will point the way toward a better life for more of humanity. In the hands of Froebel's followers the concepts and values had changed life for quite a few children—from drudgery with impossible tasks and harsh discipline to helpful guidance in harmony with child nature. Moreover, at least a dent had been made in the spare-the-rod-and-spoil-the-child regime under which so much of the adult world had reared its children. This was the priceless heritage these early leaders had left to the next generation facing new challenges.

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* *Editor's Note:* Cities that led in establishing public kindergartens were also the ones in which city superintendents were strong supporters of kindergarten; namely, William T. Harris of St. Louis, John Swett of San Francisco and William Nicholas Hailmann of LaPorte, Indiana.

In the life stories of those early leaders many, like Susan Blow, were so thoroughly imbued with the mission to which they had dedicated their lives that no change in procedures and in interpretation of basic concepts was possible. However, others, like Elizabeth Harrison, welcomed soundly conceived changes in procedures but not in new interpretations of concepts and values. It would remain for the next generation, brought up in a changing world, who from the beginning of their professional education were inducted into new interpretations of the old concepts, to fight a battle for their convictions as vigorously and as devotedly as their predecessors had fought for theirs.

The United States as It Comes of Age

WHILE THE EARLY LEADERS WERE FIGHTING AND WINNING THEIR BATtles for children, the United States was coming of age: geographic expansion with increase in population and shift in location and variety in ethnic background; increase in wealth with the amassing of great fortunes by a few and suffering and misery among the many; technological development with material comforts, inflation, panics, organization of labor, climactic strikes and chronic unrest; volunteer agencies working for reform; attempts at corrective legislation. The problems faced by the new educational leadership were far more complicated than those of the early leaders.

Between 1860 and 1900 the population had more than doubled, from 31,000,000 to 76,000,000. About twenty of those 76 million were immigrants very different in ethnic background from those who had come prior to 1860, mainly from Ireland, Germany and the Scandinavian countries. By 1900, as against 340,000 from Ireland and about the same from Germany at the earlier date, there were 2,000,000 from Italy and 2,000,000 from Austria-Hungary; and, according to the 1910 census, the numbers had risen to 4,500,000 from Italy, 4,000,000 from Austria-Hungary, and 3,250,000 from Russia and Poland.

Not only had the population vastly increased and become more varied in ethnic composition, but its geographic distribution was very different from that of earlier years. While the population of 1860 was mainly centered east of the Appalachians, in the South and on the West Coast, when the network of railroads spread across the land there was a rush to the prairies and the plains. The building of the railroads in itself had its effect on the character of the population. The most difficult problems were experienced by the Central Pacific, which started east from California to meet the Union Pacific moving westward from Promontory Point, Utah. Mountains were to be tunneled, arid deserts to be crossed, extremes of heat and cold to be endured, hostile Indians to be encountered, heavy steel rails and machinery shipped around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus of Panama to be carried down snowdrifts in the mountains. And the work was done largely by 10,000 Chinese coolies! When it was completed in 1869, Robert Louis Stevenson paid eloquent tribute to the accomplishment:

> If it be romance, if it be contrast, if it be heroism
> that we require, what was Troytown to this? [1]

The Union Pacific did not encounter such nearly insuperable obstacles; but it too had its effect on population, for it brought to the task the Irish workers and the Union and Confederate war veterans.

Other roads followed: the Northern Pacific linking Lake Superior with Puget Sound; the Santa Fe following the old trail from Kansas into New Mexico across the desert into lower California; the Southern Pacific from New Orleans to Los Angeles and San Francisco; the Northern Pacific from St. Paul to Seattle. By 1890 the five continental railroads running on 200,000 miles of tracks comprised the greatest railroad system in the world. Here was something about which the United States could boastfully say, "We are first!"

What would this mean for children? Many more children were to be educated—and representing many different ethnic groups. Would their education be motivated by the ideal of the "melting pot" or of "cultural pluralism"? Would the attempt be made to mold them with all their differences into a preconceived desirable American type—or would the search be undertaken to discover the ethnic uniqueness of their strengths and utilize them toward their individual self-realization and contribution to the social good? This was one of the fundamental problems and the challenge facing the new generation of educators—even as it is today.

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[1] Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager, *A Pocket History of the United States* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1962), p. 313.

Along with the railroads, mechanization with its inventions served to populate the great prairies and plains of the Middle West. Between 1860 and 1900 the United States Patent Office issued 676,000 patents. The McCormick reaper of the 1840's was followed by tractors, seeders, threshers with all manner of specialized variations far more suitable to the wide stretches of the Westlands than to the small farms of the East. Soon the prairies were dotted with farm lands and thriving cities where before there had been open land inhabited by Indians. On the plains, following in the wake of the prairie farms, cattle grazed where bison and buffalo had roamed.

Inventions, too, had facilitated communication so that living farther away from what had once been home no longer meant the loneliness, the apartness that it had earlier. Since 1856 the Western Union Company had been stringing more and more of its telegraph wires across the country; in 1876 the first intelligible sentence by telephone had been transmitted by Alexander Bell; the typewriter was ready for commercial use by 1873 and the linotype by 1885.

Beneath the surface of the rich land lay apparently inexhaustible resources of mineral wealth. Almost every area had deposits of iron and coal, often conveniently close together; many also had copper. One of these of almost fabulous proportions was the Great Lakes area, the whole of Lake Superior being rimmed with vast deposits. The combination of mineral resources, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River and the new railroads soon produced industrial development comparable to the agricultural development in the Middle West. Again invention, the perfecting of the process of converting iron into steel by Henry Bessemer in the 1870's, helped to establish steel as the great factor in the development of the United States into a leading industrial nation.

Besides creating redistribution of population, the agricultural and industrial development of the country brought about as dramatic a redistribution of wealth. It was the age when financial acumen amounting even to genius, combined with extraordinary persistence, hard work and at times ruthlessness, accumulated the vast fortunes connected with family names: Carnegie with steel, Rockefeller with oil, Armour and Swift with beef, Duke with tobacco, Vanderbilt and Gould with railroads, and Morgan with banking used by all of them. In 1882 Standard Oil, the first big trust, was organized; in 1901 the United States Steel Corporation was born with a capital of $1,400,000,000, a sum greater than the total national wealth a century earlier.[2]

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

The miserable shacks of miners dotted mountain sides controlled by the company owners, as were the stores from which the dwellers made their purchases. Particularly tragic was the exploitation of children. John Spargo in *The Bitter Cry of the Children* describes what he saw in the Pennsylvania and West Virginia coal mines early in the twentieth century: cramped bodies picking out slate crouched over coal chutes, deformed bent backs, mangled hands caught in machinery, lungs breathing coal dust, ten- to twelve-year-olds working for a pittance—and many of them had never been inside a school.

It was not only in the mines that children labored. Between 1870 and 1890 the number of child workers between the ages of ten and fifteen rose to one and three-quarters million. They labored in factories, mines, canning establishments, beet fields, cranberry bogs. One investigator found children six and seven years old canning vegetables at two o'clock in the morning.[3] One particularly ironic situation known to the present writer was the custom in a rural area of keeping children out of school during the month of December to make holly wreaths for Christmas. When they returned to school in January their hands were too cut and swollen to hold a pencil.

As early as 1876 the millionaire philosopher, Peter Cooper, warned that "the danger to our free institutions now is only less than in the inception of the rebellion. . . . There is fast forming in this country an aristocracy of wealth, the worst form of aristocracy that can curse the prosperity of any country. . . ."[4] There were other warnings, such as the panics of 1873 and 1893 when widespread misery became acute and when labor began to rise in its own defense.

While labor had organized to some extent locally since the early nineteenth century, no national organization existed until the short-lived National Labor Union from 1866 to 1869. The idealistic Knights of Labor, organized on a craft basis and open to all classes of workers, worked arduously to improve conditions and with considerable effect from 1869 until 1886. Then the ill-timed attempt at a general strike, ending in the tragic Haymarket Riots in Chicago, discredited their efforts. The American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, with sober policies and firm discipline gave labor a fighting edge. While the Federation based its policies on nonviolence, there were 37,000 strikes between 1881 and 1905, some brief and some prolonged. During the time of the Knights of Labor, there had been two major strikes:

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[3] John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (New York: Macmillan, 1906; Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968). Adapted from chapter, "The Working Child," p. 125ff.

[4] *Op. cit.*, Nevins and Commager, p. 282.

1877—the railroad strike, the first large industrial violence
1886—McCormick Harvester strike ending in the Haymarket Riot.

During the period of the American Federation of Labor, the two major strikes were:

1892—Homestead Carnegie Steel Mills strike, in which seven guards and eleven strikers were shot to death
1894—Pullman strike, which tied up half the railroads of the country.

The government tried more or less effectively to get at the root of the problem, the amassing and control of wealth through trusts, by passing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1900 and other similar legislation. But efforts to relieve the plight of children resulting from economic conditions were late in being made. H. G. Good comments: "After Lincoln had proclaimed the freedom of the Negro it was the working children who were declared the only slaves remaining in Christendom."[5] The labor unions were the most vigorous opponents of child labor but, in spite of their efforts and those of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the numbers of children gainfully employed increased until about 1910. The Children's Bureau, created within the Department of Labor in 1912, was the first effective federal action aimed at the protection of children. The welfare of children had been left, like compulsory school attendance, to the individual states. Left to the states, legislation on behalf of children was slow in coming. As to compulsory attendance, it was not until 1918 when Mississippi passed its law that all states had some kind of compulsory attendance in school. Massachusetts, in 1852, passed the first such law. It provided twelve weeks in a year, six of which should be continuous, for children between eight and fourteen. Good remarks that by 1890 many educators would have been happy to have as many as three months a year.[6]

Little of this seemed to touch the early leaders in the kindergarten movement. Little mention of any of these conditions so vitally affecting children is found in their writings. The only exception is found in the writings of Kate Douglas Wiggin, who so graphically described the poverty of the children with whom the early leaders immediately worked. Theirs was primarily another-world-to-come philosophy. In the spirit of their time, by and large they took poverty for granted and philanthropy the means for alleviating it. There is little evidence that they concerned themselves with the problems of social justice underlying the immediate conditions surrounding them. Their responsibility was with children. If only children could have the right kind of education—and *early* enough—there would be a better world for all. This was not true of Elizabeth

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[5] H. G. Good, *A History of American Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1956), p. 381.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

Peabody, whose life had been devoted to humanitarian causes; and not until she was fifty-five had she become interested in children. Her followers took over only her concern for education of children. As it was, their contribution was tremendous—and this at a time when they were second-class citizens with few legal rights, not even the right to vote. Would the next generation of teachers with far greater human rights view their responsibilities more broadly?

This coming of age process through which the United States was struggling, with all attendant "adolescent" difficulties, was marked by the extension of its boundaries. By 1912 all of the territory within its mainland borders had attained statehood:

1864—Nevada
1867—Nebraska
1876—Colorado
1889—North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Montana
1896—Utah
1907—Oklahoma
1912—New Mexico and Arizona

In 1867 Alaska had been acquired through purchase from Russia. Negotiations for the annexation of Hawaii were under way. Then the climax came in 1898 with the brief Spanish-American War, brief but of momentous import for the destiny not only of the United States but of civilization itself. In the acquisition of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, the United States became a world power; the "adolescent" had come of age and would now take his place side by side as an equal, and in many respects as a superior, to his parents. Should this step have been of concern to education? Where would this new road lead? It had begun in conflict; would it lead to bigger conflicts? Or to greater interdependence among nations as they supplemented each other in their resources? Would what children learned in their classrooms have anything to do with the outcome? Such questions were not raised by our early leaders. Would they be raised by the next generation? Or by the one after that?

Changing Directions Through an Indigenous Philosophy

THE MANY MATERIAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES ALONG with its expansion had given it a new self-image, as well as a new image in the eyes of others. With it came more assurance as to its own cultural abilities. Not as much deference was paid to the arts of the Old World as to the respect accorded to its own art nurtured in its own soil. Hewing a nation out of the wilderness had required practical ability and had accented practical skills. But along with the doing there was also much thinking required. Thinking was stimulated by need for physical survival and by the constant need for solving problems of human relations in every aspect of living. From this the more reflective mind moved naturally into the speculative, the generalizations of philosophic thinking.

So it was with Charles Pierce and William James. As Hawthorne wove his novels out of the stuff of New England life and James Fenimore Cooper out of the exploits of frontiersmen and Indians, so Pierce and James, on a broader base, evolved an indigenous philosophy out of the reflection on the problems and the rigors of a nation in the making. Their approach was far more mundane than that of European philosophers, and pragmatic rather than abstruse. John Dewey built upon their foundation and with them removed philosophy from its throne in the skies, evolving a philosophy that drew its sustenance from the earth.

As John Dewey (1859-1952) viewed the social scene around him with its inequalities, its materialism, its mechanization in contrast to the ideals on which his country was founded, he pondered over the philosophic basis of democracy. How to make democracy work became for him a lifelong pursuit. This meant his own identification with the problems his country was facing as he thought through the issues involved. It also meant that he could not stop until he saw his way to possible solutions, to test them against what was for him the ultimate pragmatic criterion: the extent and depth of their contribution to better living for more men. His thinking led him, as it had Froebel before him, to the premise that the solution lay primarily in education. For Dewey this meant an education not only founded upon democratic ideals but functioning through democratic processes.

On this premise he developed his masterly *Democracy and Education*.[7] The schoolroom must be a miniature society in which the problems of democracy, of its rights and responsibilities, are met as they occur in normal, natural classroom living. The teacher should have a wealth of subject matter to draw upon as needed by the children to solve their problems and to extend their horizons beyond the immediate. He negated the idea of teaching a set, logically organized body of subject matter with sharply drawn lines between its fields. Instead, he assumed the continuous reorganization of subject matter in terms of experience and need, modified as environmental conditions demand.

But to solve problems effectively one must be a disciplined thinker. Dewey analyzes the process in *How We Think*: "The occurrence of a difficulty; definitions of the difficulty; occurrence of a suggested explanation or possible solution; the rational elaboration of an idea; corroboration of an idea and formation of a concluding belief." Thinking, he says, comes between observations at the beginning and at the end: the felt need, the existence of an obstacle, the confusion when faced with a problem for which no immediate solution presents itself; the struggle until the problem is defined; the formulation of hypotheses for solutions; the collection of relevant data; the testing of one or more hypotheses until one "that works" is found.

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[7] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education, an Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926).

In *How We Think* Dewey not only analyzes "a complete act of thought" but illustrates its application to a series of problems ranging from the simple to the complex; from the concrete to the abstract; from, for example, how to choose the best form of transportation in going from one part of a city to another to solving a technical scientific problem. The process is essentially the same in all.[8]

Because "a felt need" is essential in a wholehearted attempt at solving a problem, Dewey formulated his idea of the relation of interest and effort. He made clear in his book, *Interest and Effort*, that he accepted neither of the two current schools of thought: one that would "make things interesting"—"sugar-coating"—and the other that would coerce children into maximum effort as a means of character-building. Instead he claimed that interests and effort are correlative; that interest is the first stage of an ongoing experience in which effort is the effecting stage. If this is accepted, then much of teaching consists of bringing to the surface the genuine interests of the learner and utilizing these in effecting successful achievement leading to increasingly significant interests.[9]

To Dewey the creative life was the good life. In his monumental *Art as Experience* he analyzes the creative act as a process of interaction between the person and his material. It does not matter whether the materials be in the arts or the sciences, or in the commonplace articles of the household, or in human contacts of individuals and groups—creativeness exists where thought and feeling are blended in an effort toward honest expression.[10]

Charles and Mary Beard interpret well Dewey's insight into art as growing out of and into life:

> . . . Dewey related art to ways of social life, to forms of government and economy, to democracy. . . . That is to say: The artist is a person with a mind influenced by values and interests arising out of society; art is a language or form of communication; it is an endlessly creative function; it expresses conceptions of life such as freedom, equality, tyranny, servitude, war, or power. Having a social setting and rooted in universal human value, art finds in the freedom, tolerance, mobility, and respect for labor which characterize a democratic society, conditions

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[8] John Dewey, *How We Think* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1933), adapted, pp. 72-78.

[9] ——, *Interest and Effort in Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913).

[10] ——, *Art as Experience* (New York: Minton, 1934).

> favorable to inspiration and expression. . . . Thus Dewey drew into art the main stream of American history and philosophy, broke through the restraints of class, and gave esthetics an organic connection with the humanistic aspirations of society.[11]

If education is the dominant factor in furthering the true values of democracy and a way of life consistent with these, children need from the beginning to imbue that way of life with the spirit of art. Not only is there little room for the design-pricking, the paper-weaving of the Froebelian occupations, but the whole life of the classroom should be charged with the creative impulse. Not observation, imitation, direction, and finally expression but the reverse order—expression of feeling and idea first; then, if needed, imitation and direction through careful guidance, leading the child to fulfillment of his own creative urge. But this does not happen in a vacuum. Only as one is part of the social scene—and this includes both children and teachers—can this creative life be lived. If the creative life flourishes best in a society struggling toward its ideas of freedom, tolerance, mobility, respect for labor, then this struggle must charactetrize education and be embodied in the daily life of the classroom.

This was all very difficult for those trained in the orderly, sequential use of the Froebelian gifts and occupations to accept or even to understand. But even more baffling was Dewey's definition of self-activity as the effort of a child to solve a problem of concern to him as against the Froebelian interpretation of self-activity as the groping of the Divine within a child toward ultimate fulfillment in the Absolute, in God. This difference led to accusations of irreligion, of Godlessness, against Dewey. The writer recalls attending a conference on educational philosophy at which a college professer from a denominational college derided Dewey, declaring that one of his graduate students had searched the works of Dewey and was unable to find the word God in one of them. Apparently the student had not made a very thorough search. Certainly he must have missed *My Pedagogic Creed* and *A Common Faith*.

In *My Pedagogic Creed* Dewey develops his basic faith in education in five articles:

I. What Education Is
II. What the School Is
III. The Subject Matter of Education
IV. The Nature of Method
V. The School and Social Progress

Each article begins with "I believe," and is developed in mighty affirmations of the dual role of education in fulfilling man's destiny as an individual and as the fundamental method of social progress and reform.

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[11] Charles A. Beard and Mary A. Beard, *America in Midpassage*, Vol. II (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 766.

In a climactic ending he calls on every teacher to realize the dignity of his calling and declares:

> I believe that in this way the teacher always is the prophet of the true God and the usherer in of the true kingdom of God.[12]

John Dewey was a young man of thirty-six in 1895 when he wrote *My Pedagogic Creed;* he had reached the goodly age of seventy-five when *A Common Faith* was published. As one reads the latter he senses that in all the thought- and action-packed years between the two statements there was an undercurrent in Dewey's thinking of effort to clarify, to elaborate, to explain what was the mainspring of his self. He goes to lengths to define "religious" in his terms as against "religion" as usually interpreted. In one place for example, he defines "religious" as "any activity pursued in behalf of an ideal and against obstacles and in spite of threats of personal loss because of conviction of its general and enduring value." On the other hand, he says, "All religions . . . involve specific intellectual beliefs, and they attach—some greater, some less—importance to these doctrines as true, true in the intellectual sense. . . ."[13]

As in *My Pedagogic Creed,* Dewey closes *A Common Faith* with a Credo:

> We who now live are parts of a humanity that extends into the remote past, a humanity that has interacted with nature. The things in civilization we most prize are not of ourselves. They exist by grace of the doings and sufferings of the continuous human community of which we are a link. Ours is the responsibility of conserving, transmitting, rectifying and expanding the heritage of values we have received that those who come after us may receive it more solid and secure, more widely accessible and more generously shared than we have received it. Here are all the elements for a religious faith that shall not be confined to sect, class, or race. Such a faith has always been implicitly the common faith of mankind. It remains to make it explicit and militant.[14]

At first reading this would seem a far cry from Froebel—humanism vs. supernaturalism, realism vs. mysticism, pragmatism vs. idealism. When one considers how consistently all of Dewey's teaching conforms to this, his basic life theme, one can appreciate the struggles, the conflicts in the Committee of Nineteen. And yet, in the perspective of a later age, were they so very different? Certainly the language is different, and the approach. But the goal, the all-important goal, the aspiration of two great minds and hearts, were they so different?

When John Dewey went to the University of Chicago in 1894 as Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy, he found a strong ally in Colonel Francis Parker who had been Director of the Cook County Normal School since 1887. Parker had accepted this position after having made radical changes in the public school system of Quincy, Massachusetts, where he had discarded much of the curriculum material as "deadwood" and in its place developed a program based on experience, problem solution and constructive activity. At the Cook County Normal School he aimed to educate teachers professionally to carry out such programs.

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[12] John Dewey, *My Pedagogic Creed* (Baltimore, Maryland: Norman T. A. Munder & Co., 1929), p. 27. Reprint was made in honor of John Dewey's seventieth birthday. Originally published by John Dewey in 1897.

[13] ——, *A Common Faith* (New Haven: Yale University, 1934), p. 29.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

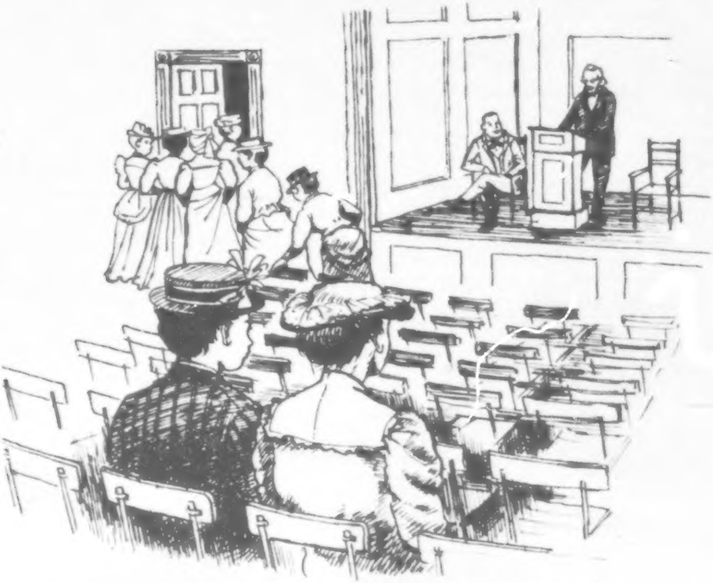
John Dewey accepted his position at the University of Chicago with the understanding that Pedagogy would be included in the department he chaired and that he might establish on the campus a laboratory school in which he would be free to try out his educational theories. Both conditions were accepted and until 1904, when he left Chicago to become Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University, his department and laboratory school became the exciting center of advanced educational thought in the United States.

Dewey and Parker had much in common. Parker was the man of action and appreciatively accorded to Dewey the greater ability in theoretical thinking. Dewey just as appreciatively acknowledged Parker's greater ability in the practical application of theory. Thus they reinforced each other. While they were both in Chicago, they gave generously of their time to students who were drawn to the city by the reputation of the vigor and freshness of approach of the education they advocated. The leaders to be discussed in the pages that follow all directly or indirectly came under the influence of these men, as had those in the foregoing pages come under the influence of Froebel and his students.

Changing Procedures Through an Indigenous Psychology

THE PSYCHOLOGY ON WHICH FROEBEL BASED HIS EDUCATION WAS largely speculative and philosophical in content. While he urged mothers and teachers to observe their children and be guided by their observations, he had no scientific facts as to how children grow, develop and learn. Intuitively he had grasped the concepts of activity, unity and continuity in the developing organism; but he had only his own seeing eyes, hearing ears and deep feeling as guides to his understanding of children. While no amount of scientific knowledge ever serves as substitutes for these, he had not the advantage that scientific data as adjuncts can give. This is what G. Stanley Hall pointed out as he proceeded to study children through research techniques. In essence, he repeated the cry of Rousseau of a century earlier, "Study your children, for assuredly you do not know them."

G. Stanley Hall tried to bring his research in child development to the attention of kindergartners. At one summer session in Chicago, Hall (then of Clark University) invited thirty-five leading kindergartners to study with him and to hear his views on Early Childhood Education. The thirty-five came, but only two remained after the first meeting. The other thirty-three were so outraged at what Hall said about the psychological unsoundness of the methodology of Froebel that they left in indignation. The two who remained were Anna E. Bryan, at the time head of the training school she had established in Louisville, Kentucky, and her former student and co-worker, Patty Smith Hill. They were so impressed that they remained for the summer to assist Professor Hall and his colleague, Professor Burnham, in their research. The summer's experience convinced these two strong leaders that a great potential existed in the scientific study of children and, further, of the need for a multidisciplinary approach by a number of specialists—biologists, pediatricians, psychologists, at least—and that the efforts of mothers and teachers were not, in themselves, enough to gain understanding of children.



A decisive moment: Froebelians leave—only Anna Bryan and Patty Smith Hill remain to learn of child study from G. Stanley Hall.

Hall's *The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School,*[15] published a number of times between 1893 and 1907, was epoch making in its revelation of the wide differences in meaning children attached to even common words. Above all else, it convinced thoughtful adults that more than uncontrolled observation was needed for the understanding of children. Hall himself was primarily interested in individual differences and never became concerned with gross measurements and averages. He relied on the questionnaire method and, though it continued to be widely used, its limitations were soon acknowledged not only by its critics but by Hall himself. However, many of his students became significant contributors in various aspects of education and child psychology: Earl Barnes, Henry H. Goddard, J. E. Wallan, Arnold Gesell, Lewis Terman. Besides stimulating the interest of scientists in the study of children, Hall's work seized the imagination of the layman and resulted in the organization of numerous groups for the study of children, culminating in 1888 in the Child Study Association of America, an organization still continuing in growth and importance.

Meantime in the 1890's Binet and Simon in Paris were working on their test of intelligence. Their research caught fire in the United States and adaptations of their measures were made, first as individual tests by Terman at Stanford University and then in group versions. This started the measurement movement in full, and soon all school subjects had their standard tests whereby groups and individuals could be measured against norms. Impetus was given by Edward L. Thorndike working on his learning experiments at Teachers College, Columbia University, in his declaration:

> Whatever exists at all exists in some amount: whatever exists in any amount can be measured.[16]

This was in the spirit of the age, characterized as it was by increasing standardization and quantitative criteria. It was so much easier to understand and apply than the theories of problem-solving and of creativeness as expounded by Dewey. And—it was so definite, so objective. Something about those neat packs of test forms, about their blanks to be filled in, their spaces for this and for that, was of very real appeal to the orderliness to which most teachers of the day were prone. True, there were those who saw danger in the trend. The most outspoken of these educators was William Chandler Bagley, also of Teachers College, Columbia University, whose expression of his fears in the word "determinism" [17] was as widely repeated as Thorndike's on the universality of quantity. Bagley saw the danger of the effect upon children of categorizing them on the basis of test scores, the difficulty of their ever freeing themselves of the status such labeling assigned them; and he questioned the implied omnipotence in making such judgments. More scornfully, Thomas Alexander, courageous reformer and colleague of Bagley, characterized the advocates of measurements as "measuring worms."

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[15] G. Stanley Hall, *Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School* (New York and Chicago: E. L. Kellogg & Co., 1893).

[16] *Op. cit.*, Good, p. 404.

[17] William Chandler Bagley, *Educational Determinism in Education* (Baltimore: Warwick and York Inc., 1925; Reprint Edition, Arno Press and *The New York Times*, 1969).

Thorndike's approach was physiological, with focus on the nervous system. He explained behavior as largely a matter of stimulus and response, SR. *Stimuli* entering the organism through afferent neurones follow pathways involving more or less of the total nervous system and cause *responses* through synaptic connections with efferent neurones.

Assuming that human nature is so constituted as to find certain conditions satisfying and others annoying, he sought the means by which this concept could be applied to furthering the aim of improving human wants and the means of satisfying them. But in order to reach this major goal it must first be understood how learning takes place. Through experimentation with rats and further adapted experimentation with persons, Thorndike evolved his three basic laws of learning:

> *Readiness*. For a conduction unit ready to conduct to do so is satisfying, and for it not to do so is annoying.
>
> *Exercise*. To the situation, "a modifiable connection being made by him between a situation S and a response R," man responds originally, other things being equal, by an increase in the strength of that connection. . . . As corollaries of the law of use we have the facts that the degree of strengthening of a connection will depend upon the vigor and duration as well as the frequency of its making.
>
> *Effect*. To the situation, "a modifiable connection being made by him between an S and an R and being accompanied or followed by a satisfying state of affairs," man responds, other things being equal, by an increase in the strength of that connection.[18]

Thorndike's detailed three-volume *Educational Psychology*,[19] published in 1910, became for decades the standard text in graduate departments of education and his abridged one-volume edition in undergraduate departments. Usually Dewey's philosophy was taught paralleling the educational psychology of Thorndike. Unlike as were their emphasis and approach, they had certain points in common. Both sought more effective ways of learning, and both emphasized in this the importance of attitude—Thorndike in his "readiness" and Dewey in his "felt need."

Both men were social in outlook, and both engaged in civic activities beyond the call of their professions. Thorndike, in his early years, indicated in one of his first books, *Education, A First Book*, his humanitarian concern when he stated the end of education:

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[18] Edward Lee Thorndike, *Educational Psychology, Briefer Course* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1922), pp. 11, 12.

[19] ——, *Educational Psychology* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1910).

> The aims of education should then be: to make men want the right thing and to make them better able to control all the forces of nature and themselves that they can to satisfy these wants. . . . The first element in making human wants better is to increase the good will—the disposition to care for others' welfare as well as for one's own—the desire to see the good wants of others satisfied. To wish the welfare of all men is one of the best of wants, for it is a want which every satisfier of all will satisfy.[20]

Here the parallel ends. Thorndike was concerned with the elements of learning through physiological connections. Dewey conceived of learning as engaging the total organism, of the mastery of elements through awareness of their relatedness to a purpose vital to the learner.

Could these approaches reinforce each other? Or were they incompatible? Would one or the other dominate the classroom? What would the oncoming leaders in childhood education do as they considered the potentials of each?

New Leadership

NOT ONLY WAS THE WORLD THE NEW LEADERS FACED VERY DIFFERENT and far more complicated than that in which the early leaders had worked, but the challenge within education itself was very different. Prior to the 1860's no serious attention had been given to the education of children. The early leaders had a groundbreaking job, spade work. This is never easy; but in this case the appeal of the new was so human, as contrasted with the harsh, sterile education to which children had been subjected, that many parents were convinced of the rightness of the new by the sheer sight of happy children in a classroom. Teachers, too, saw for the first time a fulfillment of their own yearnings to work humanely with children.

The new leaders, on the other hand, were confronted with the problem of making changes in what had become a satisfying idea of what teaching was and what young children needed. In many ways it was a repudiation of what their highly respected and beloved teachers had reverently taught. If thirty-three of thirty-five leading kindergartners had turned away in dismay from the results of G. Stanley Hall's research, what would the rank and file do? For many kindergartners the ordered program with its prescribed materials and procedures, its spirituality, and its halo of mysticism was too safe a harbor to be left lightly for what looked like turbulent seas beyond.

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[20] Edward Lee Thorndike, *Education, A First Book* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), pp. 11, 12.

However, a growing group of kindergartners were becoming doubtful of the validity of much of the old, particularly for American children, and were looking hopefully to the new. But they were confused, healthfully confused, Dewey would have said. They were faced with a problem for which they had no solution, a problem so important to them that the urge to solve it was irrepressible. This, again, Dewey would have said was good, the first essential step to sound thinking, to resolving a difficulty.

In general, the scientific approach to the study of children was more easily accepted than the philosophic theories. The scientific age was markedly influencing all ways of life. The wonders of science, though little understood, had seized the imagination. In the layman's mind was something of expectancy, a feeling that nothing in the realm of science was impossible. There was something of this in the debates of the Committee of Nineteen in the International Kindergarten Union. Both Liberal and Liberal-Conservative groups acceded that science might have something to offer and that, while Froebel should continue to be studied, the signs of the times must not be ignored.

With the turn of the century the lineal professional line stemming from Froebel through Margarethe Schurz and Elizabeth Peabody was broken. A new line originating with Hall, Dewey, Parker and Thorndike was starting. We have chosen four women, who came under direct influence of these men, as leaders of a new line of professional descent: *Alice Temple*, a student of John Dewey, whose experimentation in his laboratory school at the University of Chicago and activity in the International Kindergarten Union made a lasting contribution; *Patty Smith Hill*, who often was placed opposite Susan Blow, she as the leading supporter of Dewey as Susan Blow was of Froebel; *Ella Victoria Dobbs*, who as a leader in the elementary field extended the new philosophy and psychology upward and, in addition, in her activities brought civic and educational interests together; and *Lucy Gage*, whose influence was immeasurable—particularly in the South, where the living embodiment of her teaching was at the George Peabody College for Teachers. These leaders, each in her unique way, emphasized different aspects of the philosophy they held in common. It will be attempted to bring out their specific interpretations and contributions.

PART II

Change and Challenge

8

ALICE TEMPLE (1871-1946)

Quiet Courageous Leadership

Alice Temple

8

ALICE TEMPLE (1871-1946)
Quiet Courageous Leadership

A Unified Life Pattern

IT WAS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO BECOME A KINDERGARTNER AT THE turn of the century than in the earlier years. Who was right? The young kindergartner wonderingly asked the question. Apparently there was disagreement among respected leaders. The more thoughtful, very confused, tried to find answers to the questions in their minds.

Frances Berry, a leader several decades ago, in her early professional career was one of the questioners, one of the confused. In her later years, looking back on this period of confusion, she recalled a series of experiences in which she had been exposed to the sharply conflicting ideas of the new and the old. In her initial professional preparation at the Cleveland Training School, a branch of the Chicago Kindergarten College, which Elizabeth Harrison had founded, she was thoroughly indoctrinated in the Froebelian tradition. Then came the Detroit Training School at which the head, Miss Menger, had broken drastically away from all that was Froebelian. Following this came a period of teaching in Ypsilanti under a director rigidly Froebelian. By then, Frances Berry said, she was thoroughly confused. She simply had to work her way out, to find out where she stood. What did she as a teacher really believe? In this state of mind she entered the University of Chicago as a student in the Department of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy, hoping at the fountainhead of new education and in the atmosphere of a great university, she would find the help she needed to resolve her problems and formulate her own philosophy.[1]

Frances Berry found what she sought in Alice Temple, at the University of Chicago, first as a student in the Department of Kindergarten-Primary Education and later as a teacher in the laboratory school. Like many other students, Frances Berry recognized Alice Temple as a great teacher. Time justified the respect and affection they gave her, for mainly through her teaching Alice Temple became a major force in projecting the Dewey philosophy into the education of young children and in time changing much of the character of education in the United States.

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[1] Interview of writer with Frances Berry, member of the ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee, October 8, 1966. Notes (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

Having accepted the Dewey philosophy, Alice Temple determined both to exemplify and promote it. Primarily this meant that the content of the curriculum should grow out of life experiences of children and be developed with children in a classroom that was in reality, as Dewey would phrase it, "a miniature society." Experimentation with the continuous reorganization of the curriculum in terms of new insights was at the core of the philosophy she represented: observing, recording and analyzing of classroom activities as an essential part of the teaching-learning process. Believing that human growth and development were continuous and the same basic principles of learning, therefore, applicable to all age levels, she strove to extend upward to the grades and downward to the nursery the principles upon which the kindergarten was established. In teaching at the University of Chicago, writing and participating in many activities in International Kindergarten Union and its successor, Association for Childhood Education,* these were the threads she wove into a unified pattern.

Self and Work Inseparable

UNLIKE THE EARLIER LEADERS IN CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, ALICE Temple left little in writing about herself—a few letters, no notebooks, no diaries, no autobiography. The nearest approach to the last is contained in a letter to Miss Clay Franks, evidently in response to a request from Miss Franks for personal data to use in a dramatization of the activities of the Association for Childhood Education. The autobiographical part of the letter is given below.

Pelhamdale Lodge
Pelham, New York
October 31, 1939

Miss Clay Franks
Nacogdoches, Texas

Dear Miss Franks:

As to my "life history," I was born and brought up in Chicago and lived there until I retired from the University. I had my professional training in the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association, one of those early organizations which supported free kindergartens and trained teachers. I had two years of practice teaching with Miss Anna E. Bryan whom I always think of as the pioneer in progressive kindergarten education.

Later on, after Miss Bryan had established the work in Louisville she returned to Chicago as Principal of the Training Department of this same Association so I had five years as critic teacher working with her. After her illness and death I succeeded her as Principal. It was during these years that Professor John Dewey was carrying on his notable experiment in Education at the University of Chicago, and we all had the benefit of his lectures and his criticism and general approval of the changes in traditional materials and procedures which we were making.

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* "International" was added to the Association's name in April 1946.

In 1904 I resigned to study at the University. In 1909 I became Director of the Department of Kindergarten Education after having done some substitute teaching there. I soon realized the desirability of developing a kindergarten-primary department, and this was accomplished by 1913—the first, I think, in the country. This led to a three- and finally a four-year course leading to the bachelor's degree for all those preparing for teaching and graduate study for training teachers and supervisors. In 1919, I believe, I was asked to make a survey of the kindergartens of Richmond, Indiana. The report was published as a supplementary educational monograph of The University Press. *Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching* by Professor Parker and myself was published in 1925.

I do not remember when I became a member of the IKU, but think it was about 1900. I have been associated with it as a committee member, committee Chairman, Vice-President (1911-1913), President (1925-1927), Contributor to the magazine from time to time, etc. We worked hard during my presidency to bring about a union with the Primary Council, but the members were not yet ready for it then.

I have greatly enjoyed being responsible for the book reviews in the magazine since 1928 and have done teaching in the Home-study Department since I retired which has kept me in touch with the profession.

I seem to have run on at great length and am not at all sure that anything that I have written will be useful to you. I hope you will get the ACE information from Miss Leeper.*

With all good wishes for the success of your program,

Sincerely yours,
Alice Temple

The bare statement of facts in her letter to Miss Franks is characteristic of the objectivity she exercised in approaching all situations, an objectivity so deepseated that she could extend it to herself. As was said of Martha Graham, Alice Temple ". . . always revealed herself and her 'private myth' most tellingly in what she has created. She and her work are one and inseparable."[4]

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* Miss Mary Leeper was Executive Secretary of the Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C., 1930-1952. As a result of her outstanding leadership and tireless work, the Association experienced tremendous growth, becoming a significant force in education. Miss Leeper's vision and persistence made possible the Childhood Education Center—not only a headquarters building but a laboratory for children, parents and educators.

[4] Nancy Wilson Rose, *Martha Graham: Portrait of a Lady*, by Leroy Letherman (N. Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966). *The New York Times* Book Reviews, Oct. 23, 1966, p. 1.

The biographical professional data have been largely drawn from Alice Temple's activities in the International Kindergarten Union and its successor, Association for Childhood Education International, as recorded in their Yearbooks. For interpretation of her professional thinking we are dependent on her writings: many contributions to CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, the journal of the Association for Childhood Education International; *The Kindergarten Curriculum*, Bulletin 1919, No. 16, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, produced by a committee of the IKU which she chaired; *Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching*, which she wrote with Professor Samuel Chester Parker of University of Chicago and which was published by Ginn and Company in 1925; a Survey of the Kindergartens of Richmond, Indiana, in 1917; reminiscences of her students; and the tribute to her in the *Book of Remembrances*, a memorial to outstanding members started by the International Kindergarten Union and continued by the Association for Childhood Education International.

Of her childhood we know little more than was told by her niece, Mrs. William L. Chenery. There was a close bond between the two, and this is apparent in the following response to the request that she tell something about Alice Temple's life and particularly why she had devoted herself to the education of young children. Mrs. Chenery wrote:

> How did Alice Temple happen to go into kindergarten work? There is no one who really knows, but it is possible to make a guess. She was eighteen, she had been graduated from high school, she wanted to work. In 1889 teaching was the obvious choice for a woman, and she had a natural liking for children. But I think there is another, possibly even more compelling reason to be found in her family background and bringing up.
>
> The Chicago of that day was a smaller and a simpler city than it is now. But it offered a child in reasonably comfortable circumstances a much wider social experience than his suburban counterpart would have today. Poverty was not confined to the slums; it was on every side. Alice Temple's father knew the workmen in his factory and their problems. Her mother knew about the "green girls" who succeeded each other in her kitchen. Families were big and cohesive. Relatives who fell on hard times were not remote and pushed out of mind. They were people who came and stayed as long as they needed to—for weeks or months, again and again. The old frame house at Michigan Avenue and Twelfth Street must have been bursting at the seams; but there was always room for more than the family—if not relatives, then visiting ministers, elders or missionaries and their families. If such a family arrived unexpectedly it might happen that little Alice, the youngest, would be waked up and put in the big double bed with her sisters to make room for them.
>
> The church work which absorbed Mrs. Temple's spare time was what the next generation called charity; but it was not cold, and

> it was not given in the spirit of Lady Bountiful. It had both warmth of feeling and respect for its recipients. Hard times would come to anyone. And if sometimes "hard times" took the form of a drunken father or a derelict mother, all the more reason to do what one could for the children.
>
> All this added up to a vivid sense of human need and an almost unconscious assumption that nothing could be more worthwhile in life than to be of use where one could. It is not surprising that Alice Temple began her working life as teacher in a kindergarten maintained by a church in a very poor neighborhood. In later years the natural course of her professional life took her to the University of Chicago; but some of her students still taught by preference in the slums. And if problems were different for the children of a university community, they still gave ample scope for a spirit of understanding and helpfulness.[3]

No doubt, as Mrs. Chenery indicates, Alice Temple's early home life exerted a powerful influence in her professional choice and also in developing the deep sympathy for children and teachers alike that characterized all of her human relations. In her letter to Miss Franks she makes reference to two people who were influential in shaping the direction her professional life took. It is evident from her letter to Miss Franks that Alice Temple was deeply appreciative of the role that Anna E. Bryan and John Dewey played in her career. Referring to the work of one as a "notable experiment" and to the other as "*the* pioneer" was high praise from one as temperate in expression as Alice Temple—more given to understatement than effusion.

Nor did Alice Temple in any way overestimate the significant contribuiton of Anna E. Bryan. Hers was one of those rare creative minds that had the dynamic force to break through even the most binding shackles of tradition. Wishing to be a kindergartner, Anna E. Bryan had left her native Kentucky as a young girl to seek training at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association Training School. Although the training she received was rigidly Froebelian, when she returned to Kentucky and opened her own kindergarten, her intuitive sense of the needs of children caused her to throw much of her preparation aside and develop her own program, which in its respect for initiative and individuality was in line with the best of modern thinking.

News of the radical departure in kindergarten practices in Kentucky brought visitors from all over the country to Anna E. Bryan's school —3,000 in 1890! Among them were Colonel Francis Parker and Dr. William Hailmann, who among many other achievements in early childhood education had established the first German Kindergartens in Kentucky. They gave their "hearty endorsement, encouragement, and criticism." Through them the fame of Anna E. Bryan's work was further spread, including the request for a series of articles on the Louisville kindergartens which appeared in the *Kindergarten Magazine* between 1890 and 1893.[4]

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[3] Notes by Margaret M. Chenery (Mrs. Wm. L.) made in response to request from Olga Adams, July 1963 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

As with other leaders among kindergartners of her time, success for Anna E. Bryan did not bring complacency; instead, it sharpened her awareness of what she did not know and what she still must learn. Feeling that the kindergartens she had established were in the good hands of students whom she had trained, Anna Bryan asked for a leave of absence for further study. She returned to Chicago in order to study with Professor Dewey at the University. Then came the call from her alma mater, the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association, to become its head.[5] It was then that Alice Temple started her training at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association and through the guidance of John Dewey and Anna E. Bryan had the advantage from the beginning of direction both by the great philosopher and by one who adequately interpreted him in practice.

Thus upon a childhood in which warm human relations were the rule was built in Alice Temple a professional education characterized by a broad social philosophy harmonizing with and widely extending her early family experiences. She had no such problems as those which confused Frances Berry when she was exposed to conflicting philosophies in her early professional years. Alice Temple's life, as far as it is known —always remembering the lack of autobiographical material—seemed to move forward in the continuity she so ardently strove to achieve for others through her teaching.

It is natural that under the teaching and guidance of John Dewey and Anna E. Bryan, and with no previous training in the older philosophy, Alice Temple should become an effective proponent of the new education for which they stood. But Alice Temple was no mere disciple. By temperament and through the influence of the philosophic objectivity of John Dewey, she neither discarded the old nor took on the new lightly; she examined each and reached her own conclusions with the judgment of a free mind. As a result, a certain rationality in her approach to education inspired confidence, and was one of the reasons she was so instrumental in bringing about the break from the old and the establishment of the new in American education.

Alice Temple's professional life exemplified her acceptance of the Dewey psychology and philosophy of thinking, of the termination of all reflective thinking in action through a series of steps beginning with a compelling need for the solution of a problem. To have reached a satisfying theoretical conclusion regarding an educational problem meant to her the further problem of ways and means of actuating it and testing it. Perhaps this was the main factor in giving her that singleness, that unity of effort, so characteristic of her. Her teaching, her committee work, her writing, all focus on the significant convictions she reached:

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[4] Martha King Alexander, "Seventy-three Years of Kindergarten in Kentucky, a thesis for a Master of Arts degree completed at Peabody College for Teachers, under the direction of Lucy Gage and Maycie K. Southall, 1938, p. 47.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

> Advances in psychology and a new approach to philosophy demand a new approach in education without discarding basic values in the old.
>
> Education to be effective must be continuous and follow an inherent human development pattern.
>
> Education should be directed toward social as well as individual ends and for this dual purpose cooperation is essential.

Her fields of action were mainly in the Department of Education, with its experimental laboratory school, of the University of Chicago and the International Kindergarten Union with its successor, Association for Childhood Education. In her work in these organizations and at the University, in line with her convictions, she focused her efforts upon:

> Development of educational programs consistent with the growing body of scientific knowledge of human growth and development and with a philosophy concerned with the basic problems of living
>
> Furthering of continuity in education through the unification of nursery, kindergarten and primary education
>
> Broadening of social outlook of teachers through cooperation with other national and international movements
>
> Education of teachers as the major source of good education at all age levels.

At University of Chicago: Articulation, Experimentation, Teaching

DURING THE TEN YEARS OF WORK AND STUDY AT THE CHICAGO FREE Kindergarten Association and the University of Chicago, Alice Temple had been in close professional relationship with John Dewey. However, he had left Chicago for Columbia University before Alice Temple became Director of the Department of Kindergarten Education at the University of Chicago in 1909. From that time until her retirement in 1932, the University was Alice Temple's home base.

The major components of her University life were the articulation of the kindergarten and the primary grades, close relationship between the University and the laboratory schools. Both of these aimed at better professional education of her students.

During the first four years at the University, while Director of the Department of Kindergarten Education, Alice Temple worked toward her goal of articulating kindergarten and primary education. By 1913 she had achieved this goal in the organization of the Kindergarten-Primary Department, the first in a university. No doubt she was influenced by Dewey's thinking in these efforts, both by his emphasis on continuity of growth and his particular interest in bringing the kindergarten into the total stream of education. On February 6, 1899, in his University course in the Philosophy of Education, he commented as follows:

> The first isolation is between the kindergarten and the primary school. Historically it is easy enough to account for this. The kindergarten came into existence after the recognized school had taken form in pretty definite, mechanical shape. The kindergarten movement as instituted by Froebel rested on quite a different conception of the child and what his education should be, and it was not part of the first educational institution. It was carried on through voluntary agencies, philanthropy, charity, and as a private school. The result has been that the kindergarten became isolated and a distinct thing by itself. It is a new idea to many people that the kindergarten is or should be simply a part of the educational system; they are so in the habit of looking at it as a thing by itself, of looking upon the kindergarten child as different from the primary school child, to be treated by different methods.[6]

This certainly expressed the situation as Susan Blow and her followers saw it. They were fearful that the kindergarten would lose its uniqueness if it became part of the elementary school; that, instead of its influence being spread upward into the grades, the kindergarten would be forced into the drill on the three R's that constituted the prevailing elementary school curriculum of their time. Dewey appreciates this as he goes on with his theme:

> The child who leaves the kindergarten at five years and nine months and goes into the primary school at the end of the vacation at six years, has not undergone in his make-up any such complete revolution as he finds in the two environments that are about him. The result must be a great deal of waste and of friction. . . .

After developing this idea in more detail, he concludes:

> Each phase of the kindergarten curriculum finds its counterpart in the curricula of our best primary grades, with reading and writing as additional forms of activity and expression. The work in each subject or type of activity common to the kindergarten and primary grades, therefore, should be so arranged that continuity is secured. . . .

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[6] John Dewey, *Lectures in the Philosophy of Education, 1899*. Edited and with an Introduction by Reginald D. Archambault (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 161, 162.

> At some point, almost anywhere between the years of five and seven, the child is eager to write his name and to interpret some of the printed and written forms which he sees about him. He is ready to extend his control of language to include ability to read and write, activities which his elders apparently find so interesting and important. When this time comes, the teacher, whether her class is designed as kindergarten or first grade, should be prepared to teach these subjects according to the best known methods.[7]

The program developed by Alice Temple set the pace for the development of similar programs in kindergarten-primary education for many years. The University of Chicago catalog for 1915-16 gives the following description of the program:

> The Kindergarten-Primary Certificate
>
> A two-year course is provided for students who expect to teach either in kindergartens or in the first three grades of elementary school. Owing to rapid unification of the work of kindergarten and primary grades that is taking place in progressive school systems, it is desirable that kindergarten teachers should receive some training in primary methods, and that primary teachers should receive some training in kindergarten methods. The requirements for the certificates, however, are so arranged as to permit preparation for either kindergarten or primary teaching.
>
> The requirements for the Kindergarten-Primary Certificate are the following:
>
> 1. The general admission requirements
> 2. The contingent distributive requirements in the social sciences, foreign language, mathematics, and natural sciences
> 3. A satisfactory command of English to be determined by the written and oral work in the classes during the first two quarters of the first year. If necessary, a major of English composition (English I) will be required.
> 4. Two quarters of physical culture of 4 periods a week and one quarter of 2 periods a week
> 5. Non-credit lectures on personal hygiene during the first quarter of the first year, and non-credit lectures on school hygiene near the time of graduation
> 6. The satisfactory completion of 16 majors with 36 grade-points. The majors must be distributed among courses in education: practice teaching, kindergarten-primary, subjects related to kindergarten-primary education. Four electives are included subject to the approval of the departmental adviser.[8]

The common elements in the program for those specializing in kindergarten and those in kindergarten-primary were: a course in

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[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-163.

[8] University of Chicago Catalog, 1915-1916, pp. 24, 25.

Introduction to Teaching; a course in Kindergarten-Primary Education including Primary Methods; both included subjects related to the Kindergarten-Primary Curriculum; both included Electives.

The differences were: those specializing in kindergarten had a choice between Elementary Educational Psychology and Methods of Elementary Education while those in primary teaching had no Educational Psychology; the kindergarten specialization had two practice periods in the kindergarten and one in a primary grade while the primary carried two practice periods, both in primary grades; the primary included Geography and Mathematics among the subjects to be taken but were not required in the kindergarten specialization.

It seemed strange that with the interest at the time in Psychology and Child Study in particular, the only mention of either was an optional course in Educational Psychology. It probably was included in Introduction to Education or in the methods courses. This seemed plausible since in *Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching* Alice Temple gives such inclusion in the curriculum she proposes:

1. Introduction to the Scientific and Psychological Study of Education
2. General Methods and Types of Teaching
3. The Equipping, Managing, and Testing of Kindergartens and First Grades
4. Construction of Kindergarten-Primary Curricula.[9]

The above pattern had a wide influence for decades on the professional education of teachers as many schools originally devoted solely to the training of kindergartners took on responsibility for the training of primary-grade teachers as well, while colleges and universities began including departments of kindergarten-primary education in their curricula.

Then, as always, the success of the program for any particular student depended largely on the teacher in charge of the classroom to which she was assigned for student teaching. In its early days the University Laboratory School was used for experimentation and observation and not for student teaching. Selected private and public schools in the Chicago area provided the needed facilities. As is inevitable the quality of education in these centers varied. Olga Adams * was one of the fortunate students in having one of her three practice experiences with

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[9] Samuel Chester Parker and Alice Temple, *Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1928), pp. 26, 27.

* Olga Adams, chairman of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

Katharine Martin, a universal favorite among the Chicago critic teachers (the term in general use). Olga Adams echoes the enthusiasm of many students taught by Katharine Martin:

> I did three months of practice teaching in Katharine Martin's kindergarten in a public school on the south side of Chicago in 1908. Nothing could have been more fortunate for me in my professional life. My training under Bertha Payne's direction and the fine faculty of the Department was excellent. Although John Dewey was no longer at the University as Director of Education, his fine faculty was there and the training combined kindergarten and primary education. The two-year course was almost entirely professional and included three quarters of practice teaching. Of this my first quarter was terrible, the second nothing in the way of training, and the third was with Katharine Martin. This saved the day for me as a kindergartner.
>
> I learned most of my foundation practices in teaching in those three months through both her practices and her vigorous statements. "Don't let difficult behavior situations reach the boiling point. Change the situation; introduce new material or ideas. You will avoid much needless discipline and practice in the behavior you are trying to eliminate. I'll haunt you if you have your children make paper chains for all occasions and always hearts for valentines!" I will admit that I tended to glance over my shoulder any time chains or red hearts appeared in my kindergarten, and they did not very often. "Stoop down to a child's level especially when you are talking to him seriously, and do not attempt to discipline across the room from the difficulty. Go to the spot. Don't touch the child if it can be avoided, and speak in a low voice." There were endless of these pieces of advice and quite a few dictums.
>
> Miss Martin was the first teacher of young children I had ever seen who lived with them in the classroom as naturally as she did with adults. She was gay and energetic. She was respectful of them and required the same behavior of them toward each other, the practice teachers, and herself. Children were encouraged to be free and creative along all lines of self-expression but were never out of decent self-control.[10]

Miss Martin also taught in the University Kindergarten-Primary Department. Students in her courses were as enthusiastic about her teaching as those who had her in the classroom with children. She taught courses in Children's Literature, Plays and Games, Hand Work and Kindergarten Procedures. Merle Gray * wrote:

> Miss Martin made Children's Literature come alive for students. Every one had fun in her classes. She used a different approach to help her students learn about books, children, story telling, and how to bring these together. One felt enriched in her knowledge and appreciation of literature. She demonstrated her knowledge while Miss Temple led the students to the source and helped them delve in and learn under her leadership.[11]

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[10] Olga Adams, Letter to writer.

* Merle Gray, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

[11] Merle Gray, Letter to writer.

Miss Gray's last sentence reminds one of the professional relationship of Elizabeth Peabody and her sister Mary Peabody Mann and of Kate Douglas Wiggin and her sister Nora Smith, with personalities in both cases in reverse.

The friendship between Alice Temple and Katharine Martin had begun in a student-teacher relationship at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association Training Department. Mrs. Chenery seems to have caught the inner fire of Katharine Martin in a few words as she brings her to life:

> Though they saw eye to eye on professional matters, the two were almost as different in temperament as people can be. Katharine Martin was as gay and impetuous as Miss Temple was quiet and deliberate. She was the kind of person to whom things happen; she could hardly leave the house without an adventure. If there was a fire, or an accident, or a horse fell down on the ice, or a drunken father chased his child down the street, she was there—and if intervention was called for, she did not hesitate. I remember one occasion when she was teaching somewhere in the slums, when a boy came to kindergarten in bitter weather without any coat. Miss Martin went home with him after school, and found that his coat was "in hock" to the corner saloon-keeper. In those days it was unheard of for a decent woman to go into a saloon, but Miss Martin lost no time. To the amazement of the customers, she treated the saloon-keeper to such a blast of indignation that he couldn't wait to give her the coat and get rid of her.[12]

Almost invariably when a student spoke of Alice Temple, she would include Katharine Martin. Theirs was one of those rare friendships that exist when two people widely opposite in temperament are at one in their values and convictions. Olga Adams, who was devoted to them both, wrote:

> Somewhere in her early teaching experience, around 1900 I should say, Miss Temple became acquainted with Katharine Martin. Katharine came to Chicago to prepare for kindergarten teaching and was to become Miss Temple's star student and a lifelong, intimate friend. She lived in the Temple home for the last twenty years of her life and died in 1931.
>
> Alice Temple and Katharine Martin were as different as two people could be in general behavior. Katharine was roundish in figure, very Irish in appearance and in her wit, vivid in speech and frank (to put it rather mildly). She never forgot the name and family background of anyone whom she met and could always ask the proper personal questions. Miss Temple always had difficulty in remembering, at least names. Katharine had endless good stories and could tell them dramatically. She was original in the practical arts, music and dance. She was entirely at ease, natural and understanding of young children. As I think of Katharine she seems to me to have translated into imaginative lively practice all of the fine principles and bedrock

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[12] *Op. cit.*, Chenery, Notes.

> convictions of Alice Temple. She did this both in her teaching of children and later in her work with students in the Kindergarten-Primary Department of the University of Chicago with Miss Temple.[13]

Although John Dewey was no longer at the University when Alice Temple began her work there, his impression persisted on the Laboratory School into which he had put so much effort. The fine teachers who had come under his influence continued their work there in the spirit of his educational convictions. This was a great asset for Alice Temple in carrying on her University teaching. The Laboratory School gave her the illustrative material she needed to clarify the theory she taught her students. By working with the classroom teachers, she assisted them in the continuous reorganization of the curriculum essential to growth of teachers and pupils according to Dewey's thinking. By training her students in observation and recording, Alice Temple collected the data needed for the evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses in processes used and, thus, for formulating hypotheses for further experimentation. Through all of this her University students not only gained the theoretical and practical knowledge of their profession but caught the scientific attitude that she so well exemplified.

It is fortunate that Alice Temple's work in coordinating theory and practice has been preserved in printed form. The book, *Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching*,[14] written by her and Professor Samuel Chester Parker after sixteen years on the faculty of the University, is based largely on activities developed in the Laboratory School. There is no record of how the work was divided between Miss Temple and Professor Parker but, because of her close association with the classrooms, the illustrative material is undoubtedly hers.

The authors' preface states that the book was intended for use in kindergarten, in training schools and in reading circles. It is sad to think that after completing his part of the book, Professor Parker died before its publication. It is regrettable, too, that when the book went out of print in 1943 no renewal of its copyright was made. It is a book of solid worth in that it shows what a classroom would be like based on the Dewey philosophy: the physical environment, equipment and materials; what the children said and did; what the teacher said and did; and the interactions among them. Whether one accepts these narratives as good or poor education, and whether one regards the theoretical analysis of them as sound or specious, the fact remains: here is something concrete, straightforward in point of view, a base from which the reader can think and draw his conclusions.

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[13] *Op. cit.*, Olga Adams, Letter to writer.
[14] *Op. cit.*, Parker and Temple.

As the narratives unfold, the principles by which the guidance of the teacher proceeds are clearly evident: provision of a stimulating environment; free exploration of the environment and manipulation of materials by the children; children and teachers working and learning together; an observant teacher selecting cues from the children for guiding them into further and more significant experiences; the teacher responsible for initiating activities when in her judgment this seems desirable; the challenge of thinking of problem situations and guidance by the teacher in orderly sequence of steps in thinking; respect for subject matter not so much as an end in itself but as a means to the solution of problems leading to increasingly significant problems and, hence, to wider and deeper knowledge; the classroom a miniature society so organized that the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship are learned through living; the continuity of growth having its counterpart in the educational program as one activity leads to another and the work of one grade into the next, even with the gap of a summer vacation between.

As one reads Part II, "Types of Learning," the bulk of the book from pages 125 to 545, one finds all of the above mingled in the learning of children. In the kindergarten they build their own play house; visit neighborhood stores to procure the food needed for the cooking they do; build the furniture for the different rooms they have partitioned off with buildingblocks; move outside from homemaking to their neighborhood and build the firehouse, the church, the school, their homes; and interspersing their building with trips for the information needed. These are but samples of the many activities in which individual children and groups of children participate as they gain understanding of home and community life and their own social involvement in it.

Since these are city children they start in the kindergarten with the life of the city, but they are led—and this, by the teacher—into country life. In the beginning of the year in the first grade, the teacher helps the children make the connection with their year in the kindergarten by recalling the things they did and comparing their new room with the old. The children tell some of the things they want to do again—make things they need, take care of plants and animals, keep the room in order, tell stories, play games, sing, learn to read.[15] These children had planted a garden in the spring and this leads to the teacher's suggestion of a trip to the farm.[16] This is a "natural" for children and the desirable learnings are easily stimulated.

From time to time the authors explain the difference between the above procedures and the traditional Froebelian method. A detailed report of the procedure in paper-folding, one of the Froebel "Occupations," is given and contrasted with paper-folding for a meaningful purpose. Space does not permit a full account, but the following represents the contrast fairly:

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

> In both cases, paper is folded. In the traditional method, the teacher directs: "Put the finger on the front edge of your paper. Fold the front edge of your square over to the back edge and crease. Be sure to get the back edge of your square just even before you crease." A lot of time is consumed by the teacher in helping the children make the crease accurately. Finally the children are told to open the paper and tell what they have. If the children do not guess correctly, the teacher tells them they have made books. Day after day the paper is returned to the children and through a similar process they fold and refold until sixteen little squares are developed. Each time the children are called on to tell what the folded paper represents. Only when the children have learned to make some of these folds with their resulting forms are the children allowed to invent or work with their own ideas. Miss Blow is quoted in explanation: "In folding, the beginning is made by creasing and bending paper in different ways; these creases and bends suggest simple objects and finally the child folds with intention to make objects."
>
> In contrast, in the modern kindergarten the folding would be done with some purpose in mind. The children may be equipping a play house and need to fold napkins or towels for it; or they may need booklets in which to keep the pictures they have drawn or to mount the leaves they have collected. In any event, most children have had experience with folding; the teacher's task is to help them fold more accurately so they may make things they desire successfully. The teacher may help them if necessary but, instead of following the teacher's directions blindly, the children are working with a clear idea of the end to be reached through the process.[17]

In the chapter, "Problem-Solving and Project Teaching," the authors state the emphasis will be on problem-solving as practice in thinking, as compared with earlier chapters (from which the foregoing illustrations were taken), in which the emphasis is on problem-solving for clarifying ideas. Three examples are given:

> A kindergarten problem: how to make the front of a cardboard store
>
> A first-grade lesson: making the plans for a garden
>
> A second-grade lesson: how to dress an Arabian doll.

The authors draw contrasts between:

> "Presented versus discovered" problems
>
> Practical and speculative problems.

Each has a place in social life and, therefore, in school life they are both "presented" and "discovered"; both are "practical" and "speculative." "Practical" problems were chosen in the book because in the primary grades many of the problems with which children are concerned have to do with making something. It happened that the problems were "discovered" because they grew out of needs to carry on extended projects.

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[17] *Ibid.*, adapted, pp. 256-263.

These illustrations are particularly valuable because in reporting them a considerable part of the exact words of the teacher are given as recorded by trained observers.

In the kindergarten project the children had arrived at the point in the store construction of making a front for it. After observing a number of store fronts in the neighborhood, they made designs of various kinds. These were evaluated by the children on such criteria as size of the front in relation to size of the store; the placing of windows in relation to the door and in the matter of size; ways of fastening the front to the store; and when the decision was made to use hinges, the number and kind had to be determined. Finally, the test of their thinking came when they placed the front on the store and found that "it worked."

The first grade was confronted with the problem of developing a 30' by 16' plot of ground for a garden so that each of their thirty classmates might have a share in it. The children saw the need for some kind of planning, which led to the decision to make a diagram; this brought out the use of scale drawings and the decision on the size of the scale. Eventually they decided upon four plots with two-foot paths crossing in the middle so that the children could reach their garden plots. Finally, each child was to have a row in his group's plot.

The children in the second grade were studying Arab desert life. They had made a sand table representation of a desert scene—sand hills, camel tracks, camels. When they reached the point of wanting to represent an Arab family, the question arose on how they should be dressed. Through study of pictures they decided that they would have to make sandals, turbans, robes, shawls. These all presented problems—selection of materials, sewing accessories needed, making of patterns, relative sizes that had to be calculated. The project culminated in a sand table representation and in a dramatic presentation, "Brave Deeds of Tellah."

The chapter makes a detailed analysis of the techniques used by the teacher in carrying the children beyond the mere impulse to make something to a conclusion that would give them the satisfaction of success, broaden their knowledge of one of the great world cultures and increase sympathetic understanding toward it.[18]

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[18] *Ibid.*, adapted, pp. 270-320.

All aspects of the curriculum are given attention in the book—health, recreation, the arts, reading, writing and arithmetic. The creative side is emphasized with the attendant satisfaction of mastery of what is individually achievable, but never to the detriment of skills. On this point the authors are explicit:

> . . . we recognize the importance of the essential social skills in reading, writing and arithmetic, which the primary school has historically emphasized in response to definite social needs. We . . . feel that both kindergarten activities and the essential social skills can be merged in the education of children from five to seven years of age in a manner completely in keeping with the mental age of the pupils.[19] *

And again, with emphasis on individual differences:

> Although the teaching of reading was seldom found in the isolated kindergarten, it is quite appropriate and valuable for certain kindergarten children who are mentally capable of making easy progress with it. On the other hand, it is clearly not adapted to other kindergarten children of lower grades of mental ability, just as it is not adapted to some first grade children of low intellectual ability.[20]

The authors end with the wish that the book had gone further into the other types of problem teaching, the theoretical and the "presented" in particular, appropriate with older children. As it is, it is the considered opinion of this writer that no better exposition of the Dewey philosophy of education as applied to the kindergarten and primary grades has as yet been produced.

Psychological Trend: Tests, Check Lists, Surveys

UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALICE TEMPLE AND MOST OF THE STAFF, the Chicago University Laboratory School reflected the Dewey philosophy illustrated in the preceding section; however, it was also influenced by the emphasis of the psychology of the day. In her history of the University Laboratory Schools, Ida B. De Pencier entitles one chapter, "Testing, Testing, Testing." She tells how the decade between 1909 and 1919 was "marked by a fever of testing, not only in the Chicago University School but across the nation." She characterizes Professor Charles H. Judd, who had succeeded Professor Dewey in 1909, as one of the educators "who spread the contagion." [21] She describes the effect of the passion for testing:

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

* The teacher of the kindergarten project was Olive Paine; the recorder, Eleanor Harris, a high school mathematics teacher interested in problem-solving. The teacher of the first grade was Marjorie Hardy; the recorder, Agnes Adams. The teacher of the second grade was Mary Cameron and the recorder, Eleanor Harris.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[21] Ida B. De Pencier, *The History of the Laboratory Schools, The University of Chicago 1896-1965* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. 74.

> Elementary school pupils referred to themselves as guinea pigs, and well they might. They were used for research, experimentation, and refinement of tests by teachers, graduate students, and faculty. Tests were given so often that the pupils lost their fear of them; in some instances they took them far too lightly for the teachers' satisfaction.[22]

While under the leadership of Professor Dewey, the University professors had contributed to the Laboratory School by helping provide vital subject matter; under the leadership of Professor Judd, their main contacts with the Laboratory School were made through testing. Frank Nugent Freeman tested handwriting; William Scott Gray, whose reading laboratory with its devices for measuring eye movements became world famous, used the children as subjects; Guy T. Buswell, also interested in reading, tested the eye-voice span—that is, the distance by which the eye leads the voice in oral reading; others representing all fields of the curriculum, as Mrs. De Pencier puts it, tried out "tests, tests, and more tests."

Mrs. De Pencier conceded some value to this and adds a consoling word:

> Were the principles of Mr. Dewey and Colonel Parker lost sight of in this period of emphasis on the scientific study of the learning process? Despite the scientific overlay, the teachers who had been trained under Mr. Dewey and Colonel Parker (some of the latter had come with him when he became a member of the University faculty shortly before his death) continued to follow the teaching of the two men. The hand as well as the head still had an important part in the children's learning.[23]

That "the hand as well as the head" were still active in the Laboratory School is obvious in the reports given in *Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching.*

Standard tests of intelligence and achievement, check lists, charts and graphs, surveys—these swept the country. The schools had become one with their technological, industrial milieu. Parker and Temple in their book, despite its emphasis on vital learning in almost every chapter devoted to subject fields, refer to evaluation through testing (such as the Detroit kindergarten and first-grade intelligence tests); [24] to drawing scales; [25] to measures to determine the errors children make in English.[26]

Allied to testing were the check lists and score cards by which children's progress could be followed in detail. Thus, in the chapter on "Civic-Moral Ideals and Habits" an elaborate description is given of a list of eighty-three specific habits which, in the opinion of a group of teachers working under the direction of the psychologist, Agnes Rogers, could be established by the end of the first grade. The eighty-three items are classified as health habits, personal habits, social moral habits and motor skills. Individual record sheets and directions for recording progress in the growth of these habits are provided.[27]

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[24] *Op. cit.*, Parker and Temple, pp. 20, 21.
[25] *Op. cit.*, Parker and Temple, pp. 247, 251, 252.
[26] *Op. cit.*, Parker and Temple, pp. 209, 210.

A strange dichotomy seemed to be developing in education. On the one hand, we see children and teachers working together on projects involving hands, mind and emotion, calling for imagination, thinking, creativeness; on the other, a mechanical itemized approach, dealing with specifics. Were they supplementary? Were they incompatible? Was one sooner or later bound to succumb to the other?

It was a time, too, when reliance was placed upon the results of statistical surveys to determine administrative practices. Reference is made to these by Parker and Temple mainly in the chapter, "Class Organization and the Daily Program." After sample programs from a number of cities are given, a table is presented showing the time allotments in fifty cities for fifteen different subjects taught in the first grade in terms of average allotment in hours per year, percentage of average total recitations, lowest number of hours, highest number of hours, average allotment in minutes per day![28]

Alice Temple herself made a survey. In 1917 she was asked by the Board of Education of Richmond, Indiana, to make a survey of the kindergartens of that city.[29] The only suggestion of anything mathematical in its fifty-four pages, in contrast to the one mentioned above, is found in:

Table I —The number of kindergartens found in 6 Mid-western states

Table II —The number of nationalities represented and their percentage in each of the 8 kindergartens in Richmond

Table III —The preparation of kindergarten and teachers of Grade IB in the Richmond schools

Table IV —Average salaries of kindergarten directors in 28 Mid-western cities[30]

Table I established the favorable situation of Indiana as compared with its neighboring states in its establishment of kindergartens; Table II, the wide divergence in ethnic background among the Richmond kindergartens; Table III, the greater amount of training of the kindergarten teachers as compared with those of Grade IB, but the greater amount of experience of the IB teachers; and Table IV, the favorable situation as to salaries of the Richmond teachers compared with those of twenty-eight Mid-western cities. Having established the basic facts given in the four tables, Alice Temple then gives her attention to what was happening and what could happen to children under more favorable conditions. Since this survey was directed entirely by Alice Temple, the slight attention she gave to statistical data is but one of many indications that this approach was not of major interest to her.

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[27] *Op. cit.*, Parker and Temple, p. 401.

[28] *Op. cit.*, Parker and Temple, pp. 110-119.

[29] Alice Temple, *Survey of the Kindergartens of Richmond, Indiana*. Supplementary Educational Monographs, Vol. I, No. 6 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917).

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 4, 15, 17.

One can surmise how favorably the teachers concerned must have reacted to so human a document. While Alice Temple, as was characteristic of her, never hesitated to point out weaknesses, she did it gently; and there is not an instance in the book where she does not follow an unfavorable comment with a definite and practical suggestion for improvement. For example, she shows how the six-foot-long tables in use in the Richmond kindergartens are not as satisfactory as smaller ones and gives not only numbers and sizes but points out the different uses in different combinations they can serve.[31] Finding most of the materials limited to the traditional "Gifts" and "Occupations," she illustrates the use of more suitable equipment and how it can be purchased or made at varying costs.[32] She comments favorably on the emphasis given to forms of industrial and community occupation, but objects to the efforts of the teachers to introduce children to concepts beyond their understanding and shows how the work can tie in and grow out of the life experiences of the children.[33] She approaches the problem of methodology by contrasting two building experiences, the one thoroughly formalized and teacher directed and the other purposeful and constructive. Thus in the hands of an Alice Temple even a survey can become a human document.

At Work in IKU and ACE

ALICE TEMPLE'S NAME APPEARS IN EVERY YEARBOOK OF International Kindergarten Union from 1900, when she became a member, until 1931, when the organization became Association for Childhood Education, after which she continued in the latter until the last years of her life. It is a record of prodigious work in discussions, committees, office-holding and writing. In all of it the same themes that animated her teaching are evident: the "new" interpretation of the principles of childhood education; the continuity of growth and, hence, the need to articulate the kindergarten into the elementary grades.

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-14.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-31.

It was at the 1900 meeting of the International Kindergarten Union that the growing differences among the members were first aired in open debate. The topic chosen was "Gifts and Occupations," a tactful choice since probably a broader base of agreement existed there than on such topics as symbolism and the nature of play. All of the main speakers—Josephine Jarvis, Lucy Wheelock, Mary Boomer Page, Susan Blow, Maria Kraus-Boelte, Caroline C. A. Hart and Elizabeth Harrison—while making concessions to the "new" were pretty well entrenched in the "old." It was only in the discussion that followed that any forthright statements embodying a different point of view were made, and these by Patty Smith Hill, Mrs. Alice Harvey Putnam and Alice Temple.

Excerpts from Alice Temple's statements are given as characteristic both of her point of view and of her discussion techniques:

> In placing any material in the child's hands, whether it be used freely or with direction, the kindergartner should ask herself this question: What will the child get out of it? More specifically: To what extent will it meet the child's need of expressing his ideas and images—his interests at the present stage?

Alice Temple did not totally discard the Froebelian "Gifts" but showed why she considered the building "Gifts" his most valuable:

> The building gifts especially met most satisfactorily many of the child's fundamental interests—for example, the interest in making and unmaking, repetition, imitation, construction, and creation.

Having acknowledged the good of some of the Froebelian "Gifts," she then went on more positively as to her own position:

> I do not believe, however, that these six Gifts furnish a complete set of playthings for the young child. I would have, among other things, larger and heavier building blocks, a goodly supply of dolls, a furnished playhouse (which may be of the children's own make), toy animals, and small utensils and tools of various kinds. I think, too, that some of these or other materials may often be used to good advantage in gift plays, furnishing the detail which the older children especially want, and the play incentives needed by the younger.

In discussing the "Occupations," she began immediately with her point of view:

> The occupations in which the children are most independent are clay and sand modelling, all forms of free drawing, cutting, and painting, and work with paper, scissors and paste. It would seem that after all the objections that have been made to the fine perforating, card sewing, and mat weaving from the hygienic standpoint, nothing further need be said, but when one city in this country is represented at the Paris Exposition by just such work, and all larger constructive work discarded because "not easily packed and sent," certainly the subject has not been sufficiently talked about.

She went on to say that her objection was not merely on hygienic grounds but, equally important, because "The child is certainly interested in the activities of sewing, of weaving . . . but those activities, those processes should result in forms which are of intrinsic interest and value to the child. . . ."[34] Not reported in the Yearbook, but told by Frances Berry with chuckling enjoyment, was the dismay of the audience when Alice Temple to illustrate her point exhibited a corrugated wash board as more suitable for the needs of kindergarten children than weaving paper mats![35]

There was never any of the "all or nothing" in Alice Temple's approach to educational problems. Instead, she was always ready to salvage what was good in the past and build on it. In her closing words in the little time allotted her at the 1900 IKU Convention, she paid respect to those fundamental concepts which she believed to be Froebel's lasting contribution and were not violated in the method she advocated:

> Now in what respects is this method of using materials Froebelian? It is true to the teaching of Froebel in the conscientious effort to meet the young child's needs through a thoughtful study of his instincts and interests as manifested in his spontaneous activities. It is true to the principle of *unity*. Through the more child-like form of expression is brought about a vital relation between "the inner and the outer" a truer unity of mind and body. It is true to Froebel in the real creative activity secured —a *self-activity* which I believe it is impossible to get through the prescribed use of conventional material alone.
>
> It is true to the principle of *continuity* to the extent that it really furnishes the child at each stage what that stage calls for.[36]

A year later the meeting of International Kindergarten Union at Chicago included in its program a round table on "Programs." Patty Smith Hill had given a paper but was unable to remain for the discussion. In her absence Alice Temple was asked to clarify Miss Hill's statement which had to do with the kind of program needed by children living in poor neighborhoods. Did Miss Hill mean that these children should have a program different from that of children from more favorable homes? That they should not have experiences that would lift them to a higher plane?

Alice Temple replied that she would hesitate to interpret Miss Hill, but as to her own point of view she believed that we needed to begin with experiences typical of the children's environment, enlarge these and give more beautiful related ideas—but not to give them experiences far removed from their lives and force adult interpretations upon them.

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[34] Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the International Kindergarten Union, Brooklyn, April 18, 19, 20, 1900, pp. 89-91.

[35] *Op. cit.*, Berry.

[36] *Op. cit.*, Proceedings, IKU, 1900, adapted, pp. 91-92.

This brought forth an animated discussion bringing into sharp relief a fundamental difference between Froebelian idealism and modern realism, between those who saw children from a preconceived image of childhood and those who sought to see children as they existed in this or that environment. Miss O'Grady led off by referring to the slum children in New York, for whom a typical experience was seeing a policeman take a drunken man off to jail. Left to their own initiative, this is the sort of thing the children would dramatize. What should be done?

Many suggestions were given. Many favored the substitution of the soldier for the policeman as a symbol of power; others would give the story of the good knight, that model toward which children should aspire in Froebel's *Mother Play;* one told of a child who having heard of the Chevalier Bayard as "without fear and without reproach" appropriated this ideal and wished for nothing higher than that he conduct himself for a week "without fear and without reproach"; another told of the children in her kindergarten who were so moved by the death of Queen Victoria that one little boy who was "rather cruel" decided that he would be kind to other boys "as the good Queen was."

To all of which, Alice Temple answered:

> I think the ideal of the policemen is quite within the good environment of the city child. How often does the child go downtown with his mother and see the policeman on the street corner! That can be dramatized and made an interesting game. You can have the children for street cars, wagons, and people trying to cross the street. It has all the excitement and all the strength and vigor of the policeman's part. When you take a soldier fighting for his country, fighting for the right, if you say that to the child what does it really mean to him? It is an expression which, I think, has no meaning for the child between three and six, and when you force that expression upon him or even when he follows our suggestion, he is not getting out of it what we think the ideal. We cannot be safe unless we keep pretty close within his experience.

At the close of the discussion when the chairman asked for a vote as to those who would keep strictly to the ideal, to the environmental, or to a combination of the two in the experiences given, the vote favored the latter.[57]

At another round table on "Programs" at the same convention, Alice Temple responded to the request, "Give briefly some of the characteristic points of the best program you have made or used." She described the program in the University of Chicago Laboratory School in which the year's work was built around home and home life. She emphasized all subject matter bore a real relationship to the central unifying subject, home life. There was no effort to select an adult concept, such as "cooperation" and then search for experiences that would contribute to it. Instead, the actual experiences of the children in their daily home living determined the children's activities. For example, the cooking and serving of meals led to the work of those who supply the food; the building of houses, to the work of the carpenter and mason; out of the growing needs of the family, the provision of schools, churches, sidewalks, transportation and such.

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[57] Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the International Kindergarten Union, Chicago, April 10, 11, 12, 13, 1901, pp. 49-54.

Alice Temple took this occasion to clarify the word "unity" as Dewey used it, the interpretation to which she subscribed, in contrast to Froebel's abstruse use of the term. She quoted directly from Dewey:

> From the child's standpoint unity lies in the subject matter, in the present case, in the fact that he is always dealing with one thing, home life. . . . The child is working all the time *within a unity*, giving different phases of its clearness and definiteness, and bringing them into coherent connection with one another. When there is great diversity of subject-matter, continuity is apt to be sought on the formal side, i.e., in schemes of sequence, schools of work, a rigid program of development followed with every topic. As a rule, such sequence is purely intellectual, hence is grasped only by the teacher, quite passing over the head of the child.[15]

At Work in IKU and ACE: On Committees

ALICE TEMPLE WAS NO PRIMA DONNA. SHE WAS ALWAYS READY TO throw in her efforts with those of others wherever she could serve. *Cooperation* was the keynote of her working methods as were *unity* and *continuity* the themes of her motivation. Her long record of committee membership in the International Kindergarten Union and the Association for Childhood Education is ample evidence of this trait.

International Kindergarten Union Committees:

Foreign Correspondence	1906-1907
Foreign Relations	1908
Nominations	1906, 1917
Training and Supervision	1909, 1910, 1922, 1924, 1925, chairman
Child Study	1913-1915, chairman
Committee of Nineteen	1920-1929
Editorial Board, *Childhood Education*	1925-1929
Conferring Committee on Reorganization	1929-1930
Advisory Board	1928-1929, chairman

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 56.

Cooperation with National Education Association	1913-1921
Council of Supervisors and Training Teachers (formerly Committee on Cooperation with NEA)	1925-1926
Cooperation with U. S. Bureau of Education	1914-1928

After the merger of the International Kindergarten Union with the National Council of Primary Education into the Association for Childhood Education, Alice Temple served on the following committees:

Advisory Board	1930-1946
Committee of Nineteen	1930-1946
Editorial Board, *Childhood Education*	1930-1931
Advisory Board, *Childhood Education*	1942-1943
Book Review Editor, *Childhood Education*	1930-1941

She was active on the Advisory Board and the Committee of Nineteen until the year of her death. The Yearbook of the Association for Childhood Education for 1946 lists her name on its Honor Roll and pays tribute to her in "In Memoriam."[*]

On all the committees, her cooperative spirit contributed to their achievements. Two, however, had *cooperation* for their major purpose, the Committee on Cooperation with the National Education Association and the Committee on Cooperation with the U. S. Bureau of Education. Because of the light the first throws on the relationships of the IKU and the NEA and the significant achievements of the second committee, these will be emphasized here.

When the International Kindergarten Union was founded in 1892, a kindergarten department was in NEA. But the Froebelian kindergartners of the day had so strong a sense of mission that to function properly they felt that they needed an independent organ. There probably never was a group able to combine firmness and courtesy better than these good women pioneers. This showed clearly in the way they effected their own organization but managed to maintain cooperative relations with the NEA kindergarten group. Alice Temple was among those who did most to cement the bonds of fellowship with other groups that had the interest of children at heart. It was her motion at the 1911 meeting of IKU in Cincinnati that led to the establishment of the Committee on Cooperation with the National Education Association. The motion followed a vigorous discussion on relationships with the NEA, voicing the views of those who

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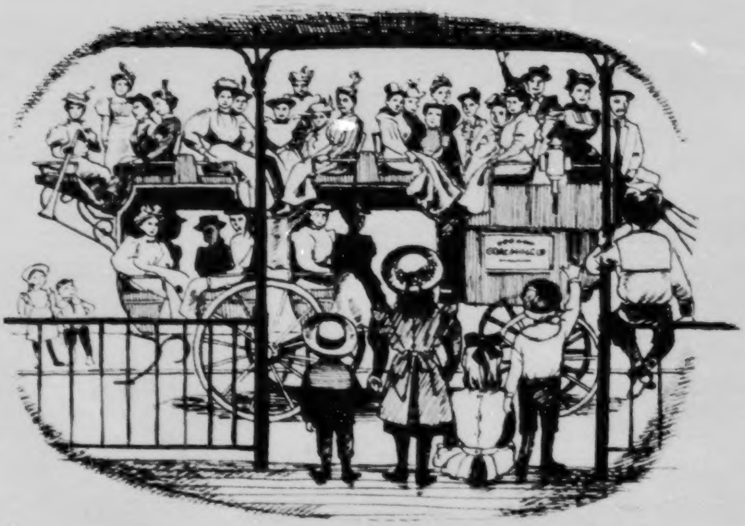
[*] Tabulation from a study by Elizabeth Neterer, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee, September 1966, of all the Yearbooks of the International Kindergarten Union and the Association for Childhood Education to determine the role played by Alice Temple on committees of these associations (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).



IKUers off to see the city!

felt that through it essential support of the superintendents for kindergartens could be gained and those who felt that the power of the superintendents would overshadow the efforts of those whose main concern was with the needs of young children. Alice Temple's motion was carried and through it efforts at cooperation were successfully carried forward.[40]

The 1913 Yearbook of the IKU includes the Committee for Cooperation with the National Education Association in its list of committees. Lucy Wheelock was chairman and Alice Temple, one of its eleven members. Lucy Wheelock reported a joint session of the IKU committee with the February meeting of the Department of Superintendence at which the topic discussed was: "Comparison of the Froebelian and Montessori Methods." Miss Wheelock reported that many kindergartners were present at this and other sessions and a consensus was reached that the joint session with superintendents was profitable.[11]

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[40] Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1911, p. 83.

Similar joint meetings were reported in Cincinnati in 1915 on the topic, "Correlation of the Kindergarten with the Public School System"; [12] in Atlantic City, 1918, on "The Kindergarten of Today," and Miss Curtis' vivid portrayal of the suffering children in France, an appeal so moving that the campaign for the French Kindergarten Unit was immediately started; and in 1919, in Chicago, Alice Temple's report of surveys which had been made with a view "to discovering measurable results in kindergarten practice." [13]

The committee continues to be listed in the 1920 and 1921 IKU Yearbooks but no reports were given. It would seem that by then some form of joint meeting was taken for granted, and the practice was continued through the years with the luncheon meeting of the National Council of Childhood Education * and the meeting of *Childhood Education's* Editorial Board at the annual meeting of the Superintendents in February.

Measured by results in growth of interest, information and practical help in the spread of good education for children, the services of the members of the IKU Committee for Cooperation with the U. S. Bureau of Education were outstanding. The organization of the committee in March 1913 was the direct result of the interest of Dr. P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, in the education of young children. He had succeeded in establishing a kindergarten division within the U. S. Bureau of Education and appealed to the IKU for help in matters pertaining to the kindergarten throughout the country, particularly in the collection of data. A large and able committee had been appointed by circularizing the membership of the IKU; and Miss Nina Vandewalker had been selected as chairman and Miss Myra Winchester, a member of the staff of the U. S. Bureau of Education, as secretary. Alice Temple was one of the original members of the committee and served under the chairmanship of Miss Vandewalker until 1928.

No doubt the enormous amount of work turned out by this committee and its high quality are due largely to the chairmanship of Nina Vandewalker. She and Alice Temple had much in common—the same absence of showmanship, the same selfless absorption in their work, and the same

[11] Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Washington, D. C., 1913, p. 71.

[12] Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, San Francisco, California, 1915, p. 83.

[13] Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Baltimore, Maryland, 1919, p. 90.

* Composed originally of ACE and NANE (National Association of Nursery Education, now called National Association for the Education of Young Children).

fine scholarly workmanship. Like Alice Temple, she too had come under the influence of John Dewey as a graduate student at the University of Chicago in 1896 and 1897. She was the head of the kindergarten department at the Milwaukee Normal School from 1897 to 1920. When she became committee chairman, she already had made a substantial contribution to the literature of early childhood education in *The Kindergarten in American Education*, published by the Macmillan Company in 1908, which has remained one of the best treatises in its field. All her reports as chairman of the committee, the position she held until 1923 when she joined the staff of the Bureau of Education as a specialist in early education, have the same fine qualities of expert workmanship as her book.[14]

At the IKU meeting in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1914, organization for cooperation between the Bureau and the Union under the guidance of Commissioner Claxton was completed. Alice Temple was appointed chairman of the Expert Advice Committee and Luella A. Palmer of a bulletin committee, both as subcommittees with Miss Vandewalker as committee chairman.

By the 1914 meeting the request for data on kindergartens, made by Commissioner Claxton in 1913, had been answered in a fourteen-page report in the Yearbook. Miss Vandewalker closed the report with the following statement:

> The committee feels itself privileged to have a share in working for these results. It realizes that the formation of a Kindergarten Division of the Bureau of Education will mean much to the progress of the movement eventually—in fact, it believes that kindergarten in the United States has entered upon a new era in consequence.[15]

Succeeding Yearbooks indicate that the pace of work started the first year of the committee's existence did not slacken.

1915—Results of questionnaire reported in 1914 Yearbook, in press
The Kindergarten-Primary Bulletin, in press
Questionnaires prepared by Alice Temple's subcommittee:
Open-air Kindergartens
The Montessori Method[16]

1916—Bulletin, *Adjustment Between the Kindergarten and the First Grade*, completed

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[14] Notes by Miss Louise M. Alder, who followed Nina Vandewalker as Director of Kindergarten Department at Milwaukee Normal School and Donald A. Woods, Curator, University of Wisconsin (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[15] Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1914, pp. 100-114.

[16] Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, San Francisco, California, 1915, pp. 80-82.

Another subcommittee chaired by Alice Temple to produce a bulletin on kindergarten curriculum
Another subcommittee appointed to produce a bulletin on types of training courses
An annotated list of books on the education of young children, requested by Commissioner Claxton, nearing completion[17]

1917—*Selected List of Books on the Education of Early Childhood*, completed and published
Bulletin, *Kindergarten Supervision*, near completion
Bulletin, *Kindergarten Curriculum*, ready for presentation by Alice Temple at the Annual Meeting[18]

1918—Three bulletins completed:
Curriculum and Standards
Kindergarten Tests and Measurements
A Kindergarten Reading Course[19]

Alice Temple's most outstanding achievement in printed form on the Committee for Cooperation of the IKU with the U. S. Bureau of Education was the bulletin, *The Kindergarten Curriculum*, produced by a subcommittee which she chaired.[20]

After a general statement on Aims, Subject Matter and Method, a month-by-month outline follows:

September, October, November
    Life in the Home
    Sources of Food
    Seasonal Activities and Interests

December
    Preparation for Christmas

January, February, March
    Life in the Community
    Seasonal Interests

April, May, June
    Occupations Related to Clothing
    Seasonal Activities and Interests

As in the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago, the program is centered in activities beginning with the home, moving outward and recognizing the importance of seasonal changes and holidays.

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[17] Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Cleveland, Ohio, 1916, pp. 90-93.

[18] Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Boston, Massachusetts, 1917, pp. 103-106.

[19] Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Chicago, Illinois, 1918, pp. 74-77.

[20] *The Kindergarten Curriculum*, by the Subcommittee of the Bureau of Education Committee of the International Kindergarten Union (Washington, D. C.: Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 16, 1919).

Alice Temple's concern for continuity in education and its achievement through articulation of the kindergarten with the grades are reflected in the opening statement:

> [The bulletin] would interpret the kindergarten to those primary teachers who are still unacquainted with it and show them what foundation it furnishes for their own work. It would give superintendents and principals a basis for evaluating the kindergarten, and enable them to indicate how its work should be coordinated with that of the grades to follow. . . .[51]

Or this from Chapter I, General Statement:

> Each phase of the kindergarten curriculum finds its counterpart in the curricula of our best primary grades, with reading and writing as additional forms of activity and expression. The work in each subject or type of activity common to the primary grades, therefore, should be so arranged that continuity is secured.[52]

Alice Temple's readiness always to utilize what is good of the past and add later insights is shown particularly in the discussion of materials. Here she first mentions that Froebel's building blocks (enlarged) may be used along with floor blocks enlarged six times, before she describes the other materials which to her are of far greater creative value—clay, paints, scissors and such materials.

Every chapter gives sound suggestions to help the teacher develop a program on the basis of good general theory derived from the facts known at the time of human growth and development, but cautioning at the same time the readiness for adaptation to the environment in which the children live and to their individual characteristics. A carefully developed bibliography, classified lists of songs, stories, poems and equipment must have made the bulletin an invaluable help to the teachers of the day.

For decades the bulletin had a wide influence on the professional education of teachers as many schools originally devoted to the training of teachers took on responsibility for a broader professional education including that of primary teachers; departments of primary education or elementary education in colleges and universities included the kindergarten in their programs.

Year after year, the Committee for Cooperation of IKU and U. S. Bureau of Education collected data for circulars, leaflets, bulletins; worked on their preparation; and saw their publication and distribution on a nation-wide and often international basis. These embraced kindergarten training, curricula, annotated book lists, articulation of kindergarten and primary grades, measures of the effectiveness of early childhood education, supervision. Publication of articles in professional magazines was another effort of the Committee. In the 1925 Yearbook Nina Vandewalker reports that, in the year 1924-25 alone, there were six articles for CHILDHOOD EDUCATION and several for SCHOOL LIFE written by the Committee.[53] Then there were joint field trips of members of the IKU and staff of the U. S. Bureau of Education, such as the four-day trip to Hopewell, Virginia, to study the free kindergartens established with the help of the local Woman's Club for the workers' children of the Du Pont Gun Cotton Works. But probably nothing gave Alice Temple more satisfaction than the achievement—one for which she had so ardently worked—of the articulation of the total span of early childhood education in the U. S. Bureau of Education. In 1926 the report of the Committee in the IKU Yearbook opened with the statement:

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[51] *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. 5.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

> The former Kindergarten Section of the Bureau of Education has been organized this past year to include the work of nursery schools and primary grades.[54]

Financially speaking, what did all this cost? And how were the expenses defrayed? The IKU Yearbooks give the answer. In the 1919 Yearbook:

> In July of 1918, the federal appropriation for the kindergarten division became available and officially the division passed from cooperative support to government support. Passed only in part, however, for the IKU had continued to supply the services of a clerk during the current year; and this aid, together with the generous assistance given in 1918 by Miss Orr, has made it possible to carry on without loss of impetus, a number of studies and publications.

Later in the same report is the following:

> An increase in the federal appropriation for the kindergarten division has been granted and becomes available July 1. The total sum is $6000. The only other division in the Bureau receiving an increase is the School Garden Division. *Mark this well.*[55]

The 1920 report of the committee refers to the $6000 government appropriation and adds:

> This sum made possible a force consisting of two kindergarten specialists and a clerk. Before this time the IKU had generously supplied the services of a clerk. . . .
>
> In March the House Appropriations Committee recommended a reduction of $1000 in the appropriation for the Kindergarten Division for the year beginning July 1, 1920. As a result of

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[53] Proceedings of the Thirty-second Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Los Angeles, California, 1925, p. 95.

[54] Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Kansas City, Missouri, 1926, p. 86.

[55] Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Baltimore, Maryland, 1919, pp. 91-93.

> organized effort on the part of the kindergartners in the field and other friends of the kindergarten, the amount was restored by the Senate Committee, and the work of the Kindergarten Division will not be crippled by losing all clerical help, as would have been the case if the appropriation had been reduced from $6000 to $5000. The value of the **IKU** as an organization that can call upon individuals in the field for concentrated effort has again been demonstrated.[26]

Just forty-five years later in the summer of 1965 the Office of Education through government appropriations spent $85 million to give 561,000 children of preschool age, handicapped by their slum environment, a "Head Start" for school; in the following summer $97 million was similarly spent for 573,000, and an additional $14 million had to be borrowed out of future funds for fiscal year 1967. One might well ponder over the forces that have brought about such a right-about-face between 1920 and 1965.[27]

At Work in IKU and ACE: On CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

IT WAS DURING ALICE TEMPLE'S TWO YEARS AS PRESIDENT OF THE IKU that the journal, CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, came into being as the official organ of the Association.[28] She regarded this, with its plan to cover the needs of children from three to eight years, as a significant step toward the articulation of the kindergarten with the grades. She threw herself wholeheartedly into the work of the Journal as a means toward the achievement of the continuity in childhood education she considered an imperative.

Alice Temple worked continuously on the Journal from its inception in 1924, past her retirement from the University of Chicago in 1933 until 1943.

As editor of the Committee on Book Reviews her work seems nothing less than prodigious. Besides seeing that able reviewers were secured for many significant books, after going through with her committee the arduous task of selecting these, there was scarcely an issue without her own review of one, two or three books. In sheer quantity these amounted to books on:

Child Development, Guidance, Behavior	17
Pre-school Education	14
Curriculum, Learning, Method	49
Supervision—Inservice and Student Teaching	3
Texts and Supplementary Books for Children	24

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[26] Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Topeka, Kansas, 1920, pp. 78-81.

[27] Fred M. Hechinger, "Head Start's Shaky Start—Promise vs. Practice," *New York Times*, Sunday, October 30, 1966, p. E9.

[28] Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1924, p. 73.

References, Indexes	5
Miscellaneous	6
Total	118

The clear-headed guidance of Alice Temple through the mass of reading confronting teachers was most welcome. Readers of her reviews could always count on finding the purpose of the author, the scope and content of the publication, the particular service it could render, and some indication, usually, of the reviewer's reaction. As to the last, it was always based on objective analysis.

A person of strong but controlled feeling, the demands for objectivity did not suppress Alice Temple's enthusiasm for the books she approved. For example:

> In 1936 she wrote about a book on story telling originally published in 1915: "Since the publication of the first edition in 1915 no single book has taken its place."
>
> She characterized a book on student teaching: "A contribution to teacher training . . . the most thorough treatment of student teaching yet made."
>
> About a book on infant care she wrote: "Teachers may recommend this book to parents without reservation."
>
> She recommended that a book on literature for children "should be added to the library of every one interested in providing for children the best that literature has to offer them."

On the other hand, Alice Temple had no hesitancy in criticizing adversely when she thought it was deserved, sometimes even indulging in a bit of sly humor:

> On a book on the teaching of literature, she wrote that she could feel no enthusiasm for the chapter on the use of literature in developing character and citizenship, in which the author has "The Three Little Kittens who lost their mittens appear under five categories exemplifying aggressiveness, anger, orderliness, quarrelsomeness, and stubbornness."
>
> After evaluating a book on the project method favorably, she added, "one adverse criticism . . . unable to forego a protest against taking such liberties with our classic Mother Goose as represented by the Mother Goose Health Party."

Besides the reviews, Alice Temple contributed four substantial articles to CHILDHOOD EDUCATION:

> "Problems in the Administration and Supervision of Student Teaching," Vol. I, No. 9, May 1925, pp. 434-435.
>
> "Value of Supervision from the Standpoint of a Teacher," Vol. IV, No. 7, March 1928, pp. 315-17.
>
> "Extending the Child's Social Understanding," Vol. V, No. 8, April 1929, p. 419.
>
> "The Kindergarten in America: Modern Period," Vol. XIII, No. 8, April 1937.

In the free medium of the articles, Alice Temple expresses her convictions emphatically. In "Extending the Child's Social Understanding," she regrets the scant attention given to social studies in the kindergarten, saying that even the celebration of holidays, to which social studies are often limited, are generally poor in interpretation and adaptation to children. Then, as she has on so many occasions, she objects to those who attribute to Dewey the idea that *all* social studies must grow out of children's activities. After quoting Dewey to the contrary, she adds that while there is no single body of subject matter that every school should adopt, in every school there should be some significant subject matter always in a continuous process of reorganization. While this should be based on the child's life in his immediate community, it should be so planned as to introduce him to the complexities and problems of the total group life of which he is and will continue to be part.

The historic article, "The Kindergarten in America: Modern Period," written as the third of a series by members of the Association for Childhood Education as part of the centennial celebration of the founding of the kindergarten by Froebel in 1837, deserves special attention. Alice Temple was assigned the task of bringing the history up to date from forty years before 1937. It is an excellent summary, insightful in its interpretation of the role of G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey and Colonel Francis Parker in changing the kindergarten in line with the scientific and philosophic thinking of the times, and of the leadership roles played first by the University of Chicago and later by Teachers College, Columbia University.

The two articles dealing with supervision reflect the hold that the questionnaire method, initiated by G. Stanley Hall, had on educators of the period. Both articles are based on the responses of the membership and of institutions of teacher education regarding existing problems and attitudes. The article on problems provides information on student teaching, when given, amount, conditions, the length of the program and the teaching load. It must have been particularly gratifying to Alice Temple that of the institutions responding twenty-seven gave an articulated kindergarten-primary course as against seven that gave a separate kindergarten course.

Of the fifty-five teachers from ten cities who replied as to their opinion on the value of supervision, the article gives the following:

39%—72 items indicate direct help
26%—49 " " indirect help
35%—66 " " help dependent on attitude of supervisor

Qualitative statements indicating the nature of the help are included. The greatest number are in general terms, e.g.:

> Inspired and encouraged effort and better work.

The lowest number deal with specifics:

> Helped teachers to get good results through conscious planning rather than intuitive procedure.

Alice Temple continued her work for CHILDHOOD EDUCATION several years more; but in a friendly letter to Olga Adams dated November 8, 1940, from Pelham, New York, where she lived after her retirement, she wrote:

> I must give up the editorship of the reviews after this year. I have done that job long enough but have kept at it (too long) because it kept me in touch with the literature in our field. I know it is time for someone else to take it over. But my other reason is that my eyes will no longer let me do as much reading as I should to do the job properly. I thought you would want to do something about it at your meeting in Washington in November. [Olga Adams was president of the Association at the time.]

Balance in Achievement

IN LOOKING BACK OVER ALICE TEMPLE'S LIFE ONE IS IMPRESSED WITH its balance. The core of it was her teaching. However, she also found time to read, to write, to participate in organization work, and to be effective in each with no neglect of one for the other. Fundamentally, the explanation lies in the clear-cut philosophy on which she based her personal and professional life. This was her never-wavering faith in growth as both end and means to a satisfying way of life. Believing this, her efforts were concentrated on the continuous reorganization of education so that more and more people might find this satisfying way. No doubt her early professional contacts with Anna E. Bryan and John Dewey helped develop her point of view. She certainly acknowledged her indebtedness to them. It is just as possible that the home of her childhood, where another guest was always welcome and where the mother never turned away one in need regardless of the circumstances, laid a foundation that made her receptive to the influence of an Anna E. Bryan and a John Dewey.

Her convictions gave Alice Temple the criteria for selecting her activities and, again probably attributable to home training, the discipline needed in making intelligent choices. Her work as book reviewer for CHILDHOOD EDUCATION is an example. Through it, while giving an important service to teachers, the careful, analytical reading required kept her well-informed and sharpened her judgment on developments in the field. She grew as she helped others grow.

Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching, written with Professor Parker, kept her in touch with children and the realities of the classroom, gave illustrative material for her college classes and made the students part of an experimental process. The carefully recorded observations she did for education would have built a far sounder methodology than has yet been achieved, if it had been adopted broadly and continued into the years. By recording and analyzing what children and teachers said and did under given conditions, what they assimilated, what constructive activity and learning resulted, what they rejected, she demonstrated the most important technique for the continuous improvement of education. Moreover, it challenged teachers to experiment, to develop curricula, to transcend the walls of the classroom and become one with the ongoing forces of change.

The role Alice Temple played in helping cement the bonds of cooperation between the IKU and the U. S. Bureau of Education was as significant administratively as the recording of classroom observations was instructionally. Aside from the influence the cooperatively produced *Kindergarten Curriculum* had on programs of teacher education the country over, the pattern of the combined efforts of a voluntary agency with a division of federal government exemplified truly "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." As the country grew and problems became more complex, such cooperation was bound to become more difficult. If a persistent effort in education to further the principle on which this country was founded had been continued with the zeal of these early leaders, there would be more "grass-root" education with a less controversial government role than exists today.

If growth was the controlling theme of Alice Temple's convictions, *continuity* was its corollary. She had worked for it assiduously and had the satisfaction of seeing a number of teacher education institutions incorporate the kindergarten in their primary education departments. She saw the forward step taken by the establishment of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, the journal of IKU (and later of Association for Childhood Education International), with its coverage of children from two to twelve years of age.* She had tried to get the primary teachers who had organized the National Council of Primary Education in 1916 and an organization of nursery school teachers to join with the IKU. In her letter to Miss Franks she wrote: "We worked hard during my presidency (1925-1927) to bring about a union with the Primary Council, but the members were not yet ready for it." However, with Alice Temple's continued efforts, in 1931 the National Council of Primary Education merged with the International Kindergarten Union and the two became Association for Childhood Education.

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* Action of the ACEI Executive Board, April 1971, extended the age range upward to preadolescence and downward to infancy.

The efforts to bring the nursery school group into the main-stream of education did not succeed so well. Nursery education was a newcomer in the field and it is likely that those responsible for its introduction felt its uniqueness, its difference from all other forms of education, much as the early leaders in the kindergarten had felt about their work.

Olga Adams was present at a meeting of the nursery education group at which the matter was discussed. Olga was evidently shocked at what took place. She wrote years later:

> Miss Temple was a sad individual when we left that meeting. She had asked me to go with her. I do not remember whether there were other members of the newly organized ACE there or not. I believe Miss Temple was asked to represent ACE and invite the nursery school group to join it. One argument, vigorously stressed, was that ACE was entirely a group of women, and teachers at that. The nursery group had the top men in the child-research field as members, and they would never tolerate such an organization. Theirs was a "scientific organization."[59]

Alice Temple did not in her lifetime see her dream of complete continuity in nursery, kindergarten and primary education fully realized. Nor would she see it if she were living today. But her gentle, persistent efforts made a big step forward toward a goal that may never be fully reached.

Significant as were her contributions in writing and organization work, Alice Temple's most enduring influence will be felt in the personalities and achievements of her students. All other activities fed into her teaching. Her classroom was her domain. And yet a request to former students for recollections of their associations with Alice Temple almost invariably bring puzzlement in the effort to recall. "She was the greatest inspiration I have ever known. . . . She was a great teacher, made me think. . . . I could always go to her with a problem, and she helped me to solve it, but she never gave me advice. . . ." Then, "But I can't remember what she said. . . ."

Nor did her way of meeting problems of individual students differ markedly from her classroom teaching. She was not the popular lecturer holding the group spellbound with the magnetism of her personality; instead, she was the quiet, reflective guide leading her group to the expression of their thought and feeling. A few excerpts from statements of her students are offered:

Merle Gray wrote of her:

> Students at the University of Chicago always considered it a privilege to study with Miss Alice Temple. There were a number of reasons why this was the case.

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[59] Olga Adams, Notes on Alice Temple (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

> Miss Temple set very high standards for students. She was able to help each one attain his maximum level of achievement because of her understanding of the student. A remark often on a returned paper was, "That is a good beginning, but I believe you can improve your next report. You overlooked some very important points. Come in so we can discuss them." For many students this was a first introduction to a philosophy which challenged education to view the child's developmental pattern as one of gradual unfolding and continuous growth with many of the same needs and interests at each level of growth—nursery, kindergarten, primary and even intermediate grades. She helped us to see that a child does not learn completely the things he is introduced to but may gradually learn them or widen his knowledge from year to year. His needs are continuous and not pigeonholed in a set year.
>
> I learned about surveys in education for the first time from Miss Temple. She encouraged students to study, take notes of situations, and investigate to see if these situations were general or specific isolated situations. Actually the beginning ways we learn of needs of children and ways in which these needs can be met came through contact with Miss Temple and her concepts.
>
> Another thing which made students eager to study with Miss Temple was her skill in developing an understanding of theory of education and then showing how the theory can be translated into practice. This was a strong element in her teaching. She helped students see what a good program of education should be, why it was good, and how it could be put into effect.[60]

After Olga Adams' graduation from the Kindergarten-Primary Department of the University of Chicago, she taught for thirty years in the Laboratory School and enjoyed through the years close companionship and friendship with Alice Temple. She wrote:

> One of Miss Temple's outstanding characteristics was that of clear, organized, to-the-point thinking. Many a time I have sat in class or in meetings where the discussion was wandering or becoming cluttered with irrelevant material, but before it got out of hand Miss Temple would say in her quiet way, "Now is this the point we are trying to make?" and then pointing up the discussion and adding her own wise thinking.
>
> Miss Temple's judgment of people was most understanding. She never attempted to dominate but had the rare faculty, in her quiet way, of developing and drawing out the best in her students and of sending them forth on their own professional ways. Her classes were never large and she always had time to consult with them. Frances Berry, Winifred Bain, Maycie Southall, Merle Gray, Ellen Olson, Dorothy Willy, Agnes Adams, Amy Hostler, Marjorie Hardy are some persons whom I think about now who will attest to this.

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[60] Merle Gray, Notes on Alice Temple, Oct. 17, 1966 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

> Each went her own way very successfully but bearing, in my estimation, the mark of Alice Temple.* Many of her students have said, "I did not feel that I really knew Miss Temple, but oh, how I value the training I had with her."
>
> As one who came to know Miss Temple well and to feel the warmth of her affection, I can say with all truth, "All that I am or have been in the field of education of young children is firmly rooted in the convictions which were engendered by Miss Temple's guidance and interest in me." Early in my teaching Miss Temple suggested to me that I join a professional organization and thus widen and deepen my professional life. She named IKU. This was around 1918. Before I had time to find out how to join I found myself on a committee of Mary Boomer Page's, and I was "in." I was thrilled by the 1918 conference of IKU in Chicago. I have a vivid memory of Fanniebelle Curtis—all dressed in white—telling most dramatically of her experiences with the war refugee children in France.
>
> I taught in the Kindergarten for thirty years. I gave, from time to time, courses in the Department of Education, but I chose to stay with young children as my major professional responsibility —and I have never regretted it.[61]

Agnes Adams, who did some of the recording of observations given in *Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching*, emphasized Alice Temple's human side:

> In Alice Temple one found a tower of strength and justice, respect for effort and ability, impatience with weakness or pretense. She was deeply concerned about the welfare of her students, giving freely of her time for wise counsel. "Respect" rather than "love" seemed the more appropriate term, for most of her students were seldom if ever privileged to see her in informal situations.[62]

As to personal characteristics, we have gleaned the following from Olga Adams:

> Alice Temple was a tall, slender person with a sensitive expressive face. Her eyes and hair were dark. She always dressed nicely

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* *Note:* These persons have all held significant positions:

Frances Berry	—Supervisor, Baltimore Public Schools, Maryland; authority on equipment for young children
Winifred Bain	—Director, Early Childhood Education, New College, Teachers College, Columbia University; later, President of Wheelock College, Boston, Massachusetts
Maycie Southall	—Chairman, Department of Early Childhood Education, Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee
Merle Gray	—Supervisor, Hammond (Indiana) Public Schools; textbook author
Ellen Olson	—Faculty, Chicago Teachers College
Dorothy Willy	—Editor of *Childhood Education*, 1934-1938
Agnes Adams	—Director, Student Teaching, National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois
Amy Hostler	—President, Mills College of Education, New York City
Marjorie Hardy	—Principal, Friends School, Germantown, Pennsylvania.

[61] Olga Adams, Notes on Alice Temple, July 1963 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[62] Agnes Adams, Notes on Alice Temple, September 1966 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

> but conservatively. She typifies to me a real "New England lady." This is a terrible word in present-day usage, but I mean it in its old-fashioned complimentary sense. How Miss Temple would laugh at me for this description!
>
> She was born in Chicago, almost in the heart of the present-day loop area and was most loyal to her midwestern background. I guess I'm trying to say that her ingrained genuineness—free from any artificiality—was one of her marked characteristics, felt strongly by all of us who knew her well.[63]

From Agnes Adams:

> Not until a national conference of the IKU, when in costume for a Chicago Area skit, did I first sense Miss Temple's humanity and wit. This was the era of Stunt Day when state groups gave skits on the stage, threw out advertising materials from their locality so that each attendant went home with a bag full of curios to distribute to those unable to attend. The Chicago group took the responsibility for the Illinois skit, the themes, and the costumes for which no prior planning had been done. Only the trappings and preparation thereof do I recall. The night before their use several of us, including Martha Seeling, Grace Sligh and Miss Temple, met and made crepe paper ruffs and wand-like shakers which we wore as we pranced across the platform next day. The abandon, ready participation (which I felt was due to necessity, not that it was her idea of the thing to do) and response of this serious, dignified, austere "professor" gave me a different view of the Miss Temple I had known as instructor.[64]

Reserved as was Alice Temple, there was no lack of warmth in her relationships; friendship meant a great deal to her. Of this, Mrs. Chenery wrote:

> One of Alice Temple's outstanding characteristics was her capacity for strong and enduring friendships. The first close friend that I remember was Miss Anna E. Bryan, one of her early teachers. Then in her own generation came Miss Patty Smith Hill, each personally and professionally a life-long friend; and later, many of her own students, a number of whom taught in the University of Chicago kindergarten or primary grades under her supervision. I remember especially Olga Adams, Margaret Gordon, Mary Cameron, and Marjorie Hardy. Most intimate of all was Katharine Martin, who shared the household of Alice Temple for most of her adult life.[65]

Preeminently, Alice Temple had the qualities that make the great teacher: convictions reached through her objective search for truth; the urge to transform her beliefs into realities and the courage if necessary to fight for them; satisfaction in achievement, never with pride because she was the motivating force behind it—probably not even aware of

[63] *Op. cit.*, Olga Adams, Notes.
[64] *Op. cit.*, Agnes Adams, Notes.
[65] *Op. cit.*, Mrs. Chenery, Notes.

this—but because of the effect on the lives of others; faith in the value of constructive effort even if the ends are not reached in a lifetime; and, supremely, an attitude toward people that made her not merely accept their differences but enjoy them.

Olga Adams, Frances Berry, Marjorie Hardy, Dorothy Willy, Agnes Adams, the vibrant Katharine Martin and a host of others, all different, whose personalities she had never attempted to mold—these were the undying heritage she passed on to coming generations. And because she always encouraged them to be themselves they would, in turn, reinterpret, as she had, these enduring principles of self-activity, unity and continuity in the light of new insights. She sensed the present goals as being far from realized. If teachers are to respect and nurture the individual potentials of children rather than suppress them, the teachers, in their professional education, must have experienced and come to believe that faith is essential if they would teach.

9

PATTY SMITH HILL (1868–1946)

Dynamic Leadership in New Directions

Patty Smith Hill

9

PATTY SMITH HILL (1868-1946)
Dynamic Leadership in New Directions

Temple and Hill

ALICE TEMPLE AND PATTY SMITH HILL, THE ACKNOWLEDGED LEADERS in the break away from Froebelianism and in the establishment of early childhood education on a modern basis, lived almost identical life spans, both dying in 1946—Alice Temple at seventy-five and Patty Smith Hill at seventy-eight. Their careers were singularly parallel. Both had direct contact with the most powerful educational thinkers of their day—in their professional preparation and throughout their professional careers. Both had grown up in families where warmth, affection, liberal ideas and concern for the welfare of others were the essence of their daily lives. It is not surprising that both, given their own innate ardor, conceived humanitarian goals and that their lives were directed in similar channels.

Both had their initial professional preparation under Anna E. Bryan, generally recognized as forerunner of progressive education in kindergarten, and each succeeded her as director of the training school from which she had graduated—Alice Temple from Chicago Free Kindergarten Association and Patty Smith Hill from Louisville Free Kindergarten Association. Both were students of John Dewey and worked in close cooperative relations with him. Both were stimulated by the scientific study of children by G. Stanley Hall and by the study of the learning process and educational measurements by Edward Thorndike. Both were intrigued by the revolutionary classroom practices of Colonel Francis Parker.

Patty Smith Hill and Alice Temple also had much in common in their productive educational lives. Each in her maturity found her major field of interest in the education of teachers as professors of education and heads of departments in universities. Each gave unstintingly to organization work, particularly to International Kindergarten Union and its successor Association for Childhood Education, where frequently they found themselves members of the same committees and fighting the same battles. Both were perpetual students traveling here and abroad to any person or place promising to add insight into childhood. Neither in her dedication to the new ever disdained the old but patiently studied it, gleaned its fundamental values and built upon them, always respecfully. Both were fundamentally experimental in outlook, constantly observing, discarding what they found to be errors, and eternally growing. Out of it all they brought the same convictions of enduring soundness of the concepts of *activity, unity* and *continuity* in human development and the same passion for finding better ways of applying these to education.

And here the parallel stops—for, alike as Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill were in experience and goal, they were very different personalities. The underlying difference is well symbolized in the paucity of personal data left by Alice Temple and the abundance and richness of material available on Patty Smith Hill. While there is neither an autobiography nor a biography of Alice Temple, Patty Smith Hill is the subject of an unpublished biography by Ilsa Forest and of two theses:

"Patty Smith Hill in Louisville," a thesis presented to the faculty of the Department of Education, University of Louisville, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by Frances Farley Gwinn, August 1954.[1]

"Patty Smith Hill and Reform of the Kindergarten," a report of a Type C project by M. Charlotte Jammer, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960.[2]

Copies of the first thesis and Ilsa Forest's biography as well as many letters, notes on speeches and class lectures, manuscripts of published and unpublished articles, photographs and programs are assembled in the Filson Club Library, Louisville, Kentucky. Both theses, based largely on these primary sources, and interviews with their comprehensive bibliographies have proved to be of inestimable value to the present writer.

The materials consulted on Patty Smith Hill disclose a nature characterized by dedication to ideals; a mentality able to deal with the most abstruse ideas and to translate them into homely language intelligible to all; a magnetic speaker who could stimulate an audience to action; and a practical, energetic worker attentive to the most minute details without losing the overview. Agnes Adams, undergraduate student of Alice Temple and graduate student of Patty Smith Hill, and appreciative of both, summed up the difference by saying: "Alice Temple appealed primarily to my intellect and Patty Smith Hill to my emotions."[3] And this generalization was made with no intended detraction from the mental vigor and incisiveness of Patty Smith Hill.

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[1] Copy was loaned to the writer by the thesis author, Mrs. Gwinn.

[2] Filed at Teachers College, Columbia University.

[3] Notes on Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill by Agnes Adams (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

Patty Smith Hill's life falls clearly into four periods:

1868-1887: Childhood and Youth in Kentucky, Missouri, Texas

1887-1905: Professional Preparation and Work in Louisville, Kentucky

1905-1935: Teaching and Experimenting at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York

1935-1946: Retirement with Continued Professional and Community Activities, New York.

In her late years, Patty Smith Hill viewed her life divided not so much in terms of place and time as by her expanding vision. "First," she would say, "I thought of education as child-centered; later, as family-centered; and now I think of it as community-centered including the total environment, physical and social."

Growing Up in a Close-Knit Humane Family

PATTY SMITH HILL'S CHILDHOOD WAS CONDITIONED TO A GREAT EXTENT by reactions of her parents to their own childhood. Both mother and father were convinced that a better life for children should be planned than their childhood had known. They did not mean a "softer," a less responsible life. Far from it! What they really wanted for their children was a life more consistent with the nature of childhood.

We know less about the early years of the father, William Wallace Hill, than of the mother, Martha Jane Smith Hill. We know that he was born in Bath, Kentucky; at fourteen his mother died; and, unable to accept a stepmother in his mother's place, ran away from home and never returned. How he managed we do not know but records show that in some way he was educated: graduated from Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, in 1833 and, with the intention of becoming a minister, earned a doctorate in Theology from Princeton University in 1838.

Following his graduation, William Wallace Hill served for four years as pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Selbyville, Kentucky, when ill health affecting his voice made it necessary to give up the ministry. Wishing to remain in religious work, he became the successful editor of *The Presbyterian Herald*, combining his journalistic activities with church work as a supply minister and working as a consultant. But misfortune came again in the death of his infant twins, followed by the death of his wife.

It was later, during one of his supply ministries, that he met Martha Jane Smith. The first time she heard him preach she knew he was the man she wanted to marry. The attraction was mutual and together they planned a good life centered in home and service to others.

Martha Jane, like William Wallace, had known the pangs of an uprooted childhood. She and her brother John, born in Pennsylvania, lost both parents early and were transplanted to Kentucky to the home of their aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Willis Grimes, on a plantation outside Danville. It was a good home in many ways. The children's wants were well provided for, but the discipline was the spare-the-rod-and-spoil-the-child kind of the day. Martha Jane told of the times she huddled in fear at the sound of her brother's crying while being whipped. Slavery, too, repelled her and she relieved her feelings by teaching the slaves to read and write as well as to spin, weave and dye. Added to her fears of the harsh discipline to which she was exposed were the horror tales whispered by the slaves at night.

Mr. and Mrs. Grimes really had the interest of the children at heart. It was through Mr. Grimes that Martha Jane received a college education, a rarity for women of her day. In a way it was "bootlegged." When John was ready for college and Martha Jane wanted to go, Mr. Grimes arranged with the President of Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, to have Martha tutored along with his two daughters. In this way they carried a full college program but without degree or diploma. Offering a diploma would have gone too far in violation of academic mores!

Martha Jane was gifted with a love of learning combined with an artistic nature that found expression in many facets of living. In addition, she possessed a beautiful singing voice, a source of pleasure to herself and others.

After their marriage, Martha Jane and William Wallace combined their intellectual and human interests in building a good family life. But in 1861—just three years after their marriage, during which time Mildred the eldest child was born—the Civil War made the distribution of magazines impossible, thus terminating the publication of *The Presbyterian Herald*. With his family to support and his and Martha Jane's interest in education of women, he readily took the advice of friends to gather a group of young women for instruction in his home. Beginning with thirteen, the group immediately grew to thirty, too many to accommodate at home. Soon Dr. Hill found himself president of a full-fledged school, to become famous in the South as "Bellewood."

Located in a sheltered country spot outside Louisville, untouched by ravages of war, Bellewood became the haven for wealthy young girls of the South. Its fame and popularity grew as the years passed, due to the thoroughness of its broad and varied curriculum and its good life of responsible freedom. Dr. Hill and Martha Jane felt their dream of education for women was being realized. In this comfortable academic atmosphere five other children were born—Mary, Wallace, Patty, Archibald and Jessica.

With the memory of her childhood rigors never forgotten, Martha Jane was determined her children should be brought up differently. Their financial situation at the time was such as to make possible the employment of a housekeeper, Mrs. Hayhow, a neighborhood woman, so that Martha Jane could have free time to devote to her children. Before the days of child study classes, Martha Jane did many things in bringing up her children in accord with the later scientific principles of child development. She equipped an outdoor playground with large boards, blocks, empty barrels; indoors, high up in the tower of the main building, was the children's playroom; on the grounds were a carpenter shop—Patty called it a "knockshop" and a hen house—Patty called it a "peck house"—which the children were free to explore as well as the woods and stream. The children knew that it was time to come indoors from their play when their mother hung a red flag out of their playroom window.

During Dr. Hill's presidency of Bellewood not only had the school prospered but Anchorage, the nearby town, had shared in its prosperity. Good as the life was, the pioneering spirit of Dr. Hill would never succumb to the temptation of easy living. Accordingly, when the call came to the presidency of the Fulton Synodical College in Missouri, the Bellewood days came to an end. Patty was six at the time; her father, fifty-nine; the year, 1874, a year after the disastrous panic of 1873.

Fulton was very different from Bellewood. The buildings were stark and the campus undeveloped. The social atmosphere, too, was different. Fulton was in an area that had been deeply involved in the Civil War and, unlike the genial racial relations of Bellewood, antagonism existed toward the Negro. But, as at Bellewood, William Wallace and Martha Jane worked with a will to build a good professional and home life. They succeeded in both. The campus was developed physically and a strong college program was organized; Martha Jane again equipped an outdoor playground and an indoor playroom; and the same red flag signaled to the children from the playroom window when it was time to come indoors.

But again misfortune overtook Dr. Hill. His health, never robust, had begun markedly to fail. An examination revealed the prospect of impending blindness and heart failure. A milder climate was advised and after three years at Fulton the Synod's call came to build a new college at Sherman, Texas. He started once again with his family on another academic venture.

At Sherman there were not even buildings and the country was deep in the depression. Dr. Hill set to work with his accustomed enthusiasm and vigor but it was soon obvious that his health was declining. The family took a month's vacation in Fulton, Missouri, in order that the father might consult his physician. But it was too late. They had been in Fulton only a short time when Dr. Hill called his family to his bedside and explained that death was beautiful, nothing to fear and the only sorrow was parting. Characteristically, he left a will full of loving messages to his wife and children.

Like many others during the years following the panic of 1873, Dr. Hill had suffered financial reverses that had put an end to the comfortable family life of Bellewood. Worse misfortunes than the loss of money were to follow the family after Dr. Hill's death in 1879. Returning to Sherman to prepare to move back to Louisville, the entire family with the exception of fourteen-year-old Mildred were stricken with typhoid. They pulled through months of illness with only Mildred and the kind neighbors to look after them. After they recovered sufficiently, although far from well, they made the journey back to Louisville, Kentucky. Soon after arriving, Patty had a relapse of typhoid from which she barely recovered after six months in bed.

The next years were ones of dire poverty as the family struggled to keep alive on the barest necessities of food, clothing and shelter. Mrs. Gwinn, in her thesis, tells moving stories of these days: of the cow sent by the grandfather which was sold to a neighbor—the Hills had made futile attempts to care for it—in exchange for three weeks' supply of food; of Wallace's working for one dollar a week and using the first dollar to buy milk for the family; of the school bag Patty, aged eleven, made for Jessica when she was ready for school; of Mildred's battle with tuberculosis. After three years of this, circumstances again changed through a legacy left by the grandfather in 1882. Martha Jane and the practical Wallace managed the money well and once again the Hill family lived comfortably.

Dr. Hill had often talked to his children about their futures, counseling them to think about what they expected to do with their lives. As a child, Patty consistently declared her intention to direct an orphanage. But Dr. Hill would say regardless of the profession they wished to pursue, they must be sure to get all the education they could. For Patty and Jessica this was to be found at the Louisville Collegiate Institute, established just as the Hill fortunes took an upward swing. There they secured a solid classical education.

At the time of Patty Smith Hill's graduation from the Louisville Collegiate Institute, Louisville was a city in the throes of rapid change. Over the years it had made great strides in conquering the physical problems that had handicapped its early years by scourges of yellow fever and cholera. In its post-war growth of industrialization, it had become "The Gateway of the South." With industrialization, as in other American cities, came waves of immigration, amassing of fortunes and areas of grim poverty. Again, as in other American cities, strides were made in the growth of cultural institutions—in education, religion and the arts—and with these a disturbed social conscience over the miseries of the poor. As elsewhere, personal philanthropy was the resource to which the well-intentioned citizenry turned.

Conspicuous in the philanthropic work in Louisville was that of Steve Holcombe, a "converted gambler," who decided to devote his life to the service of the unfortunate. From 1881 on he and Mrs. Holcombe worked together among the outcasts of the city. They opened a house for meetings, religious gatherings, Sunday School and lodgings for the homeless. Believing as he did that the best form of help lay in helping others to help themselves, his work was centered in the Industrial School. It opened in 1884 with just six young girls but grew rapidly in numbers and age range, extending all the way from children of three to youths of eighteen. With so many young children from three to five, the teachers were hard put as to what to do with them. Out of this need the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association was organized in 1887.[1]

While the idea of the kindergarten was not new in Louisville, for Professor William Hailmann had opened a kindergarten for German-speaking children in the 1870's, the thought of the kindergarten as part of a general movement for social betterment was new in Louisville. It so happened that the decision to launch on this venture was made the same year that Patty Smith Hill, the eighteen-year-old girl, completed her work at the Louisville Collegiate Institute.*

With Anna E. Bryan: Louisville and IKU

WHILE PATTY SMITH HILL WAS PURSUING HER GIRLHOOD STUDIES AT the Louisville Collegiate Institute, two people were at work, without her knowing it, who were to give direction to her whole future: Steve Holcombe and Anna E. Bryan.*

Steve Holcombe, in his efforts to alleviate the distress of the needy at all age levels, confronted with the presence of young children, attempted to care for them in kindergartens staffed by untrained but willing women who wanted to help. Anna E. Bryan, seeing the needs and possibilities of this situation and realizing training was necessary to meet the task adequately, left her Louisville home to prepare herself to become a kindergartner. Chicago was her choice since it offered the best training in the country at the time.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, Gwinn. Thesis, p. 9.

* *Note:* The writer drew on Mrs. Gwinn's thesis for much of the material in this section.

Although the preparation she received at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association was rigidly Froebelian, her contacts with Colonel Parker at the Cook County Normal School and Mrs. Putnam were modifying influences. Their teaching and her own liberal spirit made her question much of the training she was receiving. Anna E. Bryan was determined to introduce her own innovations when offered the position of Director of the newly organized Louisville Free Kindergarten Association in 1887. She accepted the position on condition that the Association would sponsor a training department and give her a free hand in its administration. The Association readily agreed and Anna E. Bryan opened a training school centered in the kindergarten of Steve Holcombe's Mission. Patty Smith Hill, just graduated from the Louisville Collegiate Institute, was one of her first five students.

Anna E. Bryan saw in the young Patty the spark of imagination and independent thinking which she valued so highly. She gave Patty, even as a young inexperienced student, freedom to experiment in channels which she, the teacher, had not explored. From the beginning the relationship between them was more of student-to-student than of student-to-teacher as they thought together and tried out classroom procedures to test their ideas.

No doubt Martha Jane Hill's ability to enter into the play life of her children was reflected in the absorption of her daughter Patty in play as the way of life for young children. This interest was shown at her graduation exercises in 1887 when, chosen as the valedictorian, she selected "Play" as her topic. The unorthodox opening of her speech was, too, a forecast of the many speeches she was to make in which the originality of her treatment first galvanized audiences into attention and then the soundness and depth of her thinking held them absorbed. In this first speech she began:

> Poor Adam! And poor Eve! If they never were children they never played! If they never enjoyed wholesome play they ought certainly to have our deepest sympathy and forebearance for all the troubles we are told they made us heir to. Play is universal; we find all the descendants of Adam, of every tribe and nation under the shining sun, gathering together and playing. Nor is this instinct confined to man—look at the young of all animals. What are they doing the greater part of their early life? Playing —playing—playing![5]

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[5] Original manuscript of total speech in possession of Mrs. Gwinn, to whom it was given by Ilsa Forest.

By the time Patty had completed her initial training, seven kindergartens were in the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association. Supervision of these made it impossible for Anna E. Bryan to teach the parent kindergarten at the Holcombe Mission. Confidently she turned over the direction of this key kindergarten of the Association to her young graduate. From then on Patty Smith Hill and Anna E. Bryan were colleagues attending meetings, going off for further study together, and continuously seeking better ways to help children fulfill their needs. In the summer of 1890, for example, they attended the Summer School of Applied Ethics, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, where their interest in social experimentation was deepened. This interest continued throughout Patty Smith Hill's life. In the same year they attended an NEA meeting, at which Anna E. Bryan read a paper entitled "The Letter Killeth" and Patty illustrated it with the charts showing "the creative sequence" which she had been developing with Louisville kindergarten children. This demonstration indicated that a definite break with Froebelian tradition was under way and something unusual was happening in Louisville. In the summer of 1895 they were the only two, of thirty-five kindergartners from all over the country invited to Chicago by G. Stanley Hall (then of Clark University), who remained to hear his findings in child development. Unshocked by his discussion of the limitations of Froebelianism, they stayed the summer to help G. Stanley Hall and his colleague (also see chapter 7, p. 179).

Visitors came from all over the United States to see the Louisville kindergarten innovations. Among the first was Dr. Hailmann, eager to see what was happening to the kindergartens in the city in which he had established the first one. With him came Anna E. Bryan's friend from Chicago, Colonel Francis Parker. Both were warm in their approval of what they found, and they helped to spread the news of what they considered a new approach to the education of young children. This visit led to Patty Hill's going to Chicago during the summer of 1891 to study with Colonel Parker and to her and her sister Mary's writing a series of articles on the kindergarten for *The Kindergarten Review*.

In 1893, when Anna E. Bryan took a leave of absence to go to Chicago for a year of rest and further study, she left Patty Smith Hill in charge as temporary Director of the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association. The same year Patty exhibited her Louisville work at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The work attracted much attention and served further to extend the fame of the Louisville kindergartens. Soon afterwards John Dewey visited the work in Louisville and joined Colonel Parker and Dr. Hailmann in their approbation. John Dewey's visit and his writings motivated Patty to go to Chicago with Anna E. Bryan for a summer of study with Dewey.

After summer school Anna E. Bryan decided to remain in Chicago to accept the invitation to direct her alma mater, the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association. Once again she recommended that Patty Smith Hill take her place as Director of the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association, on a permanent basis. Patty filled this position for twelve years, from 1893 until 1905, during which time Louisville gained fame as a city in which its kindergartens represented the most forward-looking practices of the times in early childhood education.

It was a time of hard work and unceasing effort for Patty Smith Hill. Working throughout the year, her summers were spent in study. Although she was convinced that *play was the way of learning* for young children, she never felt satisfied that she knew all the answers as to the why, what and how of play. To learn more in this field, in 1896 she studied *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Play* with Earl Barnes and in 1898 *The Psychology of Play* with Dr. Luther Gulick, the guiding spirit of the playground movement.

Of course, it was not all smooth sailing during those twelve years. There was opposition despite the support of influential citizens on the Board of Directors of the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association. Mrs. Gwinn describes the opposition of prominent Louisvillians by saying that "they smiled at a group of deluded women who believed it possible to teach anything of importance through so insignificant a medium as play."[6]

Not only the intellectuals and the influential raised barriers to the movement; equally detrimental was the indifference of those "on the other side of the tracks," whom the kindergarten strove to benefit. Mrs. Gwinn tells that, in the effort to assure the attendance of the children in the kindergartens, morning after morning the teachers called for the children "from wretched and degraded homes until the parents could be persuaded to bring them." She writes of the many times when the kindergartner would find the family asleep as the child crawled out of bed, seized a crust of bread and ate it on the way to school. "Miss Patty," says Mrs. Gwinn, "tells how one child she was escorting stopped on the way to ask her, 'Please, Miss, pin me britches on me.'" Water, soap, towels and clean clothes were basic equipment in those kindergartens. There were cots, too, for children as young as a year old were welcomed and cared for.[7]

Since childhood both Patty and Mary had a flair for writing. They now used their verbal talents in promoting their work. Mary, who had followed Patty as a student in Miss Bryan's training school, started

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[6] *Op. cit.*, Gwinn, p. 104.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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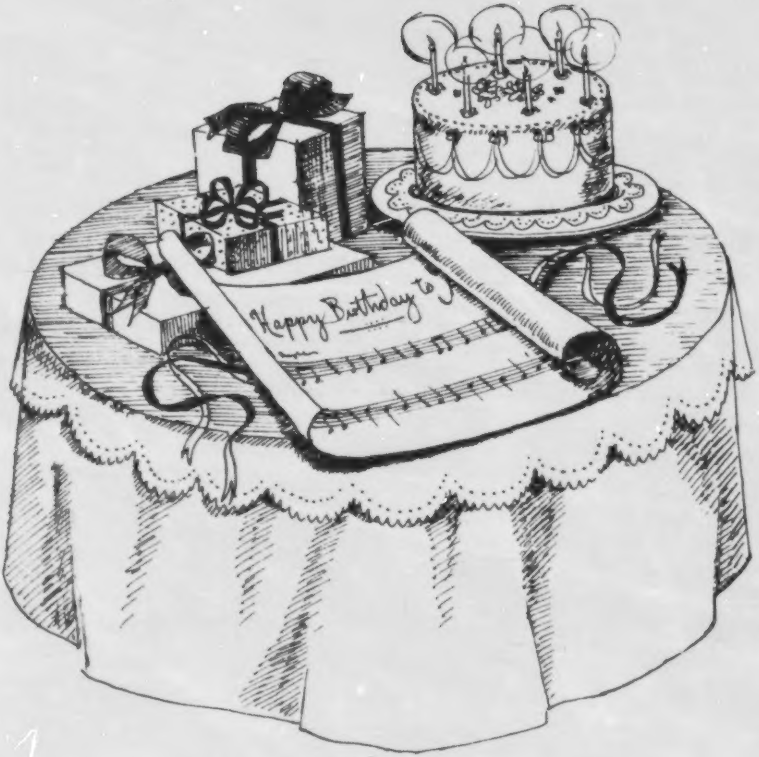
Happy Birthday to

"Happy Birthday" by Patty Smith Hill and Mildred Hill is sung in many languages around the world.

with Patty as early as 1890 to write "Typical Lessons for Mothers and Kindergartners" in *The Kindergarten Magazine*. Mildred, the musician of the family, joined with Patty in 1896 in creating *Song Stories for Children,*[7] music by Mildred and words by Patty. One of the songs was "Good Morning to You," * later to become the universal favorite of old and young alike, "Happy Birthday to You."

In "Over the Editor's Desk," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, March 1961, Margaret Rasmussen wrote: "The story is told that Patty Smith Hill, attending a Broadway play one night, was astonished to find her 'Happy Birthday' song used. As she listened a plan began to formulate in her mind. She made no mention that night of her intentions. Later she filed suit against the producer of the play for using her copyrighted composition without obtaining her permission. She asked a large sum of money and won the case. This sum was immediately turned into appropriate use for young children for whom 'Happy Birthday' had originally been composed. New nursery schools and kindergartens were started in the housing units of New York where they were urgently needed. Materials and equipment were purchased for them with these funds and with royalties from the song."

Early given to writing verse, Patty continued the practice throughout the years. One poem written during this period particularly reflects her imaginative childhood:

Sky Picture Books

When sometimes at the sky I look
    It seems to be a picture book:
The clouds take shapes of birds that fly
    And ships that sail across the sky.

Rivers, lakes, and mountains high,
    I often see up in the sky,
Funny figures, horses racing,
    Cats and dogs each other chasing.

At sunset and at sunrise too,
    Across the sky of lovely blue
Are shining clouds like paintings bright
    Before and after starry night.

And so I turn a page each day,
    To see what sky books tell and say.

Yet oft I like the best of all
    The setting sun—a golden ball."[9]

Despite difficulties, the kindergartens and the training school of the

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[7] Patty Smith Hill and Mildred J. Hill, *Song Stories for the Kindergarten* (Chicago: Clayton E. Summy Co., 1896).
[8] Found in *Songs Children Like* (Washington, D. C.: Association for Childhood Education International, 1958), p. 22.
[9] *Op. cit.*, Gwinn, p. 112.

Louisville Free Kindergarten Association flourished. Students came from all parts of the United States and new quarters were needed for them. Property large enough to include living quarters for students was secured on the corner of Floyd and Walnut Streets, and the move from Steve Holcombe's Union Gospel Mission was made in 1895. By this time the program included nine kindergartens, a parents' department with monthly meetings conducted by kindergarten principals, a nurses' department, a Normal Sunday School Department for training Sunday School teachers, a boarding department for students, and the Normal Training Department.

The efforts to involve the community in the activities of the Association grew through the years. For example, a club was organized and opened to the public through which the conclusions reached about children's growth and learning could be popularly disseminated. Patty Smith Hill was elected vice-president of the club and gave a number of the following lectures:

October: History of the Child Study Movement
Child Study—the Basis of Future Education
November: Physical Defects of Children and Their Influence on Development
December: Children's Appetites and Foods
January: Folk Lore Among Children
February: Sex Characteristics Among Children
March: Causes and Manifestations of Anger, Fun, and Humor Among Children
April: Causes, Expressions and Effects of Fear in Children
May: Investigations and Modifications of the Kindergarten [10]

A Child Study Class, more specifically directed to the needs of mothers, was organized by Patty Smith Hill and her close friend and co-worker, Finie Burton, also a student of Anna E. Bryan. The following topics were included:

Benefits of Child Study to Child, Mother and Teacher
Causes of Child Activity—Physical and Mental Education; Seeing and Doing; Sensory and Motor Training
Individuality of Training—Based on Sensory and Motor Types
Educational Value of Play—Free and Directed
Habits—Good, How to Make; Bad, How to Break
Obedience—Self-Control, Punishment, Rewards, Fear, Willingness, and Cooperation
Religious Training of Child in Home, Sunday School

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[10] *Ibid.*, Gwinn, p. 125.

Literature and Art in Home and School
Home Occupations for Children.[11]

All of Patty Smith Hill's work reflected the deep impact of her early family life on her thinking and feeling—particularly true in her work with parents. Sometimes this is seen by her direct reference to incidents in her childhood; sometimes, in imaginary story form. An example of the latter is an Easter talk she gave to a group of Louisville parents. In this she tells of a poor but hard-working and happy family in which there are prayers and Bible reading after the children are washed and dressed in clean night clothes before going to bed. At such times the father tells of a great and good King who sends his people to live in his beautiful kingdom when they have so lived as to be ready for life where everybody is kind and loving. Because of these stories the children are sure that that is what happens to their father when he dies. It is probable Martha Jane Smith had told this story or similar ones to little Patty, terrified by the horror stories of death. These and the memory of her father's serene death found expression in Patty's effort to bring to others the comfort that had been given her.[12]

Patty Smith Hill's work as Director of the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association was largely supervisory, both of the preservice training of teachers and of the growing number of kindergartens. Insight into her supervisory methods is gained through a blank book—an old-fashioned composition book—preserved in the archives of the Association for Childhood Education International. A cover on the front carries the following in clear manuscript writing:

Program or Curriculum Book
Devised about 1898-1900 by

PATTY SMITH HILL

and Developed and Used in the

KINDERGARTENS under her SUPERVISION in
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

An Early Attempt to Create Varied
Kindergarten Programs Adapted to
Different Conditions Due to Environment, Race, and the Physical,
Social, and Intellectual Status of
Child Groups

For Methods of Use of This
Book
See Inside

Apparently, from the directions for the use of the book, Patty Smith

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[11] *Ibid.*, Gwinn, p. 126.
[12] *Ibid.*, Gwinn, appendix.

Hill, as supervisor, conducted meetings with kindergarten directors. She gave her plans for conducting two meetings. At the first meeting she discussed principles and methods of work ending with advice to directors to try out her suggestions but also to introduce their own innovations. At the second meeting, the directors reported what they did. Their plans were recorded day by day on pages in the book. The books were always to be available in the classroom to the supervisor and to visitors.

Patty Smith Hill elaborated the statement of the purpose of the book:

> This Program-Curriculum Book is used by Patty Smith Hill in her effort to free the kindergartens under her supervision in Louisville from fixed formal programs, "The Uniform Program" * and other formal types in use in public and private kindergartens irrespective of the great differences in the racial, economic, social, environmental, and intellectual status of the families from which the children come.

Her method of conducting her first and second meetings is given as follows:

METHOD OF CONDUCTING FIRST CURRICULUM MEETING

1. General educational principles to be utilized in the selection of experiences, subject matter, and methods
2. Specific experiences and subject matter offered by the Supervisor as materials to be considered in making of Directors' programs
3. Notes and suggestions of Supervisor to be adapted to needs of each locality by methods of:

    Addition to those suggested by Supervisor

    Subtraction or omission of experiences considered unsuitable for different environments

    Multiplication or emphasis on suitable experiences suggested by Supervisor

    Division or reduction in use of unsuitable experiences.

METHOD OF CONDUCTING SECOND CURRICULUM MEETING

1. Each Director of a Kindergarten brings her outlines as adapted to her group of children from those suggested by the Supervisor at the first meeting.
2. Reports read by different Directors on types of experiences selected from those suggested at first meeting—giving reasons for selection and rejection.
3. Directors especially well-versed in music, art, literature, science, etc. read their plans for the benefit of less experienced teachers. Thus each Director learns from her co-

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* "The Uniform Program" was the title generally used to designate the program developed by Susan E. Blow in St. Louis.

> directors how to improve her own selection of songs, stories, science experiences, etc. These she is free to add to her own program.

Following these were the many pages—double-sized, folded back. They were hectographed copies and provided a form to be filled out by the directors. A division was made into columns with a subject matter heading for each and a division into rows for the entry of days of the week, each page thus showing the plan for one week. The columns were headed:

Social
Nature
Circle
Gift
Art
Literature
Excursion

Song
Rhythm
Modified Games
Construction
Sand Table
Domestic Science

Under "Social" there is a note in Patty's handwriting: "Many years later called *Social Sciences*. These to be treated as basic, first-hand experiences, to be expressed through songs, games, paintings." Similarly under "Domestic Science" was written: "Care of room, lunch, dishes, etc." Like Alice Temple, regardless of how experimental her program might be, how carefully the children might be observed to discover their interests, Patty Smith Hill respected subject matter and definite planning.[13]

At a meeting of the International Kindergarten Union in Chicago in 1901, Patty Smith Hill participated in a conference on Supervision. She spoke specifically to the question, "Shall the Supervisor Plan the General Program?" She spoke of what was being done in Louisville in the terms discussed in the preceding pages. No doubt the freedom granted in her early teaching days by Anna E. Bryan influenced the emphasis she placed upon the need for each director to plan her own program. She said the supervisor could not possibly know the particular needs of the children in varied communities as could the director of the school. She described the supervisor's role as presiding at a general meeting of directors, giving suggestions and listening to those of the directors, and conferring with the directors on their submitted plans. Her closing statement is an emphatic expression of her point of view:

> If the Supervisor expects each Director to respect the individuality of the children under her care, then the Supervisor should do likewise with the teachers under her supervision. It has been my experience that a poorer program, which is a teacher's own creation, is carried out with more valuable results than a better program planned by another, so long as the programs of all Directors

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[13] Patty Smith Hill, Program or Curriculum Book 1898-1900 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

> are examined and criticized before they are used with the children.[14]

In the same IKU Yearbook with Patty Smith Hill's talk on supervision is a Resolution in Memoriam of Anna E. Bryan, who died February 21, 1901. In a conversation with Patty Smith Hill, John Dewey remarked, "Had Miss Bryan lived ten years longer the education of children would have progressed much more rapidly."[15]

The program of the training school that Patty Smith Hill directed in the beginning required ten months for a certificate and fifteen for a diploma. In 1904 these were changed to twenty months, a Junior and a Senior year each requiring ten months for training. The requirements for admission as stated in the Report of the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association for 1904-1905 included a two-month trial period because of the difficulty of assessing the temperamental, physical and mental adaptability essential for a successful kindergartner. Other requirements were a minimum age of twenty; a good English education including the special subjects of physiology, physics, botany, zoology, ancient, medieval and modern history; scientific information and a scientific bent of mind; a letter of recommendation from the applicant's pastor or former teacher vouching for her moral character. At the end of the two-month probationary period a psychological examination was given to determine the student's fitness. She was assured, "Any well-educated young woman can pass this non-technical examination." She was further assured, "At this time, should the student desire to give up the work, no obstacle is placed in her way, as no tuition is asked for this first instruction should the student desire to discontinue the course."[16]

From the very beginning of her career as a teacher, Patty Smith Hill found expression in all the accepted professional activities—continued study, writing, speaking and organization work—through serving on committees, holding offices and participating in conferences. Heavy as her work in Louisville was, with its many community demands as well as the varied programs of the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association, she managed to find time to extend her interests far beyond Louisville.

She and Anna E. Bryan had become active members of the International Kindergarten Union from the time of its organization in 1892. During her Louisville days, Patty Smith Hill served on the following committees:

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[14] Patty Smith Hill, "Shall the Supervisor Plan the General Program?" Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of International Kindergarten Union, Chicago, 1901, pp. 44, 45.

[15] *Op. cit.*, Alexander, "Seventy-Three Years of Kindergarten," p. 49.

[16] *Op. cit.*, Alexander, "Seventy-Three Years of Kindergarten," pp. 60, 61.

Committee on Literature	1898
Committee on Games, Chairman	1900
Committee on Training	1901-02
Committee of Fifteen	1903

Her name appears frequently in the IKU Yearbooks, often with her speeches recorded in full. At the convention of the IKU in Brooklyn in 1900, she was a vigorous participant in the conference on "Gifts and Occupations" at which Alice Temple was a discussant. Quoting page and chapter from Froebel, she took a forthright position against the narrow following of his methodology and an equally strong position favoring the profound philosophic principles which he had enunciated. Denying that the mathematical sequences to be developed in the use of the "Gifts" give the opportunity for self-expression of child ideas and interests which he attributes to them, she made a plea for a broader interpretation of Froebel:

> Now there is a larger, greater and more inspiring Froebel than this which we find in his theory rather than his practice—his principles and ideals rather than his methods. . . . This ideal of self expression and creativity seems to have possessed Froebel more than any other. Let those who doubt it turn to that chapter in *Education by Development* entitled "Man, a Creative Being," or that inspiring portion of *Education of Man* where he bases the child's right to manual training on the fact that born in the image of God—the Creator—he too, becomes God-like in and through creativity. This is the great Froebel, the Froebel that education can never outgrow, the principle upon which all true Froebelian methods must be based whether they agree with those detailed methods used by Froebel or not.
>
> In conclusion, let me ask, are not any sound methods which are the outgrowth of keener insight into and new interpretations of these divine ideals of Froebel equally, or even more truly Froebelian than some of those used by Froebel himself more than a half century ago? [17]

In this speech Patty Smith Hill gave the essence of her philosophy—her seeking always for the deeper meaning behind the overt, her respect for the old and for that which had gone before as steppingstones to the new, her spirituality. Her deep convictions, coupled with a dramatic ability in expressing herself to an audience, and her mental vigor soon made her the leader of the liberal forces in the International Kindergarten Union. Two years later, it was natural that she became one of the original members of the Committee of Fifteen and served on it until she formulated for publication the philosophy of its liberal subcommittee.

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[17] Patty Smith Hill, excerpts from speech on "Gifts and Occupations" made at the Seventh Annual Convention of the International Kindergarten Union, Brooklyn, 1900, pp. 81-84 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

Continued Family Cooperation in Humanitarian Activities

DURING THIS PERIOD IN LOUISVILLE, BEFORE PATTY WENT TO NEW York, the Hill family continued to be close-knit in their humanitarian activities. Mildred and Mary worked with Patty in the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association, Mildred in music and Mary in social welfare activities; Archie began his studies for the ministry in 1893; Jessica continued her interest in and study of English; and Wallace, who had sacrificed his opportunity for higher education during the time of family distress, continued to make his way in the business world; even the mother, free from family cares, shared the family interests by visiting the homes of the kindergarten children.

The family not only worked together but at times vacationed together. The summer that Patty went to Chicago to exhibit her work at the Columbian Exposition, the whole family vacationed at Bay View during the time of the Chautauqua of the Middle West. It was a summer of far-reaching results for the Hills: Patty won wide recognition for her kindergarten exhibit; Jessica Hill posed for the Pioneer Woman for which Enid Yandell won the Designer's Medal and which is still being exhibited at Fort Dearborn. It was the summer, too, in which the family became acquainted with Jane Addams and Hull House. The effect of this contact was felt immediately in a speech given by Patty before the Louisville literary group known as The Blue Stocking Club. It was entitled "The Cause of the Restlessness and Discontent in Society"[18] and, like all her speeches, was carefully prepared. This speech may well have marked, while not a new direction, an intensification of her belief in the social implications of her work with children. The closing statement was significant:

> After ma[illegible]rs of daily contact and experience with this class of people, I have come to believe that what they need and want is nothing which we have, not our creeds, or our charity or our time or money. No, no, not what we have—*what we are*. Not that what we are is so great that to know us is an education, but that we need to know them, what they are—equally as much! . . . So will a social mingling of classes bring about tolerance, interchange of thought and the spread of learning, and each class will find it has something to learn and take as well as something to teach and give. . . . We talk of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man—not from the standpoint of blood-brotherhood but from that of step-brotherhood.[19]

There was more than a touch of class consciousness in the overt statement, "this class of people." More romanticism than realism was discernible in her saying, "this class [does not want] what we *have*." It was more the outpouring of a generous nature sensitive to the needs of the unfortunate and desirous of helping than the reflective expression of one who had achieved empathy with her fellow man.

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[18] "The Cause of the Restlessness and Discontent in Society," Speech 1893 (Filson Club Library, Louisville, Kentucky).
Patty Smith Hill, ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923).

The decision Archie had made to go into social settlement work was influenced by this same summer. The decision had not been easy to make. His mother had set her heart on his being a minister; reluctance to disappoint her held him back. Patty was his confidante during this difficult period and eventually it was she who convinced their mother that she "must love her son enough to make him feel free to make his own decision—as their father had brought them up to do." Once launched on his road, all the family supported him as they had Patty in her kindergarten work. They started by accompanying him for another summer to Bay View, Michigan; and while he began his studies with Dr. Graham Taylor, Chairman of Christian Sociology at Chicago Theological Seminary, the mother and sisters took a Chautauqua course on social settlement work with Dr. Taylor.

On Archie's invitation, Dr. Taylor and Jane Addams later visited Louisville and lectured on social settlement work. The community became interested and a full-fledged settlement house was established in September 1896, with Archie Hill as its director. "Neighborhood House," as it was called, developed along the lines of the social settlements of the period, with its simple model home—Archie and Mary made their residence there—and its clubs and welfare work for all ages. Mary, in the meantime, had become a much-loved kindergartner and daily went to her school from the settlement house. This continued for three years until in 1899 Archie, feeling that the work was well established, moved on to New York where he devoted the rest of his life to work on a larger scale at the West Side Neighborhood House.

It was during the time when Archie and Mary Hill were developing Neighborhood House that the first steps were taken in making the kindergarten part of the public school system of Louisville. Once again the influence of Colonel Parker was felt through Miss Frances Ingram, one of his students, who came in 1896 to teach a first grade in Louisville. Her ideas were as liberal as those of Anna E. Bryan and Patty Smith Hill, and her application of kindergarten principles to teaching the first grade so impressed the principal of the school that he arranged for her to give demonstrations for his teachers. This led to a willingness to have kindergartens occupy vacant rooms in the public schools. At first the kindergartens continued to be financed by the Louisville Kindergarten Association, but by 1903 nine kindergartens were fully financed by the Louisville Board of Education. The first kindergarten in a Louisville public school was taught by Mary Hill.

It is not known how Patty Smith Hill viewed the entrance of the kindergarten into the public school system at the time the merger occurred in Louisville. With her eagerness for continuity and the upward spread of kindergarten principles, it is probable she rejoiced over what looked like a forward step. Later in life, however, she shared some of the same misgivings Susan Blow had held over the fear that some of the major values of the kindergarten would be lost in becoming part of a more standardized system of education. In 1931, as chairman of the Committee on Nursery School Education of Association for Childhood Education, Patty Smith Hill warned against the too early incorporation of nursery schools into the public school system. In making her point she went so far as to say it would have been better if the incorporation of kindergartens in public education had been delayed ten or fifteen years. Teachers would not have been under so much obligation to prove to parents that kindergarten helped children to read better and the valuable work of the kindergarten in parent education would have been preserved.[20]

At Teachers College, Columbia University

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PATTY SMITH HILL, THE REPUTATION OF Louisville became nation-wide. It became known as a city in which kindergartners could receive an exceptionally broad preparation for their work and in which the kindergarten children were given unusual freedom to carry out their own ideas. Patty's ability as a speaker and writer, particularly her outspoken statements made at the conventions of International Kindergarten Union, did much to draw attention to Louisville and to her leadership.

Then, in 1905 came a break. Dean Earl Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University, decided to give the "young radical in the South" an opportunity to demonstrate her kind of kindergarten. He believed that one of the functions of a university was the provision of a platform where conflicting ideas could be contested, for he had in his college a kindergarten of the Susan Blow "Uniform Program" type. From then on Louisville was no longer the professional home base for Patty Smith Hill. She was to spend the next thirty years in a teachers college allied to a great university where she was to work side by side as a colleague with some of the day's most renowned scholars, not only in her own field of education but in most of the learned disciplines.

Although when Patty Smith Hill joined its faculty in 1905, Teachers College, Columbia University, had developed programs in a number of educational fields, it had had its origin in much the same philanthropic motivation that had projected the organization of the Louisville Free Kindergarten Association. In New York it was a woman, Grace Dodge, of a wealthy industrialist family who felt, as had Steve Holcombe in Louisville and Phoebe Apperson Hearst in San Francisco, that the needs of the poor could best be met by helping them to help themselves through manual training. After a number of efforts at training young people through groups which she organized in industrial and other practical arts, Grace Dodge decided that these should be part of the public school system and for this teachers would need to be trained. She interested other philanthropic-minded people and in 1886 organized the Industrial Education Association and secured a building formerly occupied by the Union Theological Seminary. Here classes in manual arts were conducted for boys and girls of all ages, a training course for teachers in manual arts was established and, again like Steve Holcombe, when parents brought young children to her door Grace Dodge started a kindergarten.

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[20] Patty Smith Hill, "Future Possibilities for Continuity Without Standardization in Curricula for Nursery School, Kindergarten, and First Grade," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, Vol. VII, No. 10, June 1931, pp. 530-531.

At first Grace Dodge managed the work herself, but as it grew in size and offerings she realized that a paid administrator was needed. Nicholas Murray Butler, a young professor of philosophy, saw the position as an opportunity for trying out the educational ideas he had been trying vainly to introduce into Columbia College of Columbia University. He was happy to accept the offer of the presidency of the Industrial Education Association while continuing his teaching at Columbia College.

Professor Butler enlarged the program to include not only the training of teachers of manual arts but of elementary teachers in general. He instituted a two-year program of courses in the History and Science of Education, Manual Arts, English, French, German, and Observation and Student Teaching. For the last, he continued the kindergarten and added a complete elementary school. The name was changed from Industrial Education Association to New York College for the Training of Teachers.

Nicholas Murray Butler administered the College until 1891, when he resigned to become the head of the Department of Philosophy of Columbia College, a position that was to lead to his long and successful career as President of Columbia University. He was succeeded as President of New York College for the Training of Teachers by Walter L. Harvey, under whose administration the college outgrew its quarters. Grace Dodge helped to raise funds for the purchase of a lot on 120th Street and for erecting a building on it. The new building was dedicated in 1894; in 1897 James Earl Russell became the Dean of what by then was Teachers College, Columbia University.

Dean Russell served the College for thirty years, covering much the same period as Patty Smith Hill, and between them there existed years of mutual and unfailing respect and loyalty. The Dean's compelling ambition was the development of teaching into a profession that could hold its own in a university with the dignity accorded accepted professions distinguished by general culture, special scholarship, professional knowledge and professional skills. He was consistent throughout his administration in adherence to his goal; as a result, Teachers College became the "Mecca" of students from all over the world seeking professional preparation for themselves and, in many cases, for the organization of colleges and school systems throughout the United States and in foreign lands.

A major factor in the Dean's success was his confidence in the conflict of honest minds as essential to progress. He was indefatigable in his pursuit of faculty members of divergent points of view. A classic example is that of Professor Kilpatrick and Professor Bagley—the first, the masterly interpreter of Dewey and leader in the Progressive Education movement; the second, the scholarly upholder of organized subject matter and outspoken critic of many of the practices of Progressive Education. Both brilliant teachers attracting large classes and enthusiastic followers, the two provided over the years the kind of professorial dialogue that is the delight and challenge of thoughtful students.

It was in this spirit that Dean Russell invited Patty Smith Hill to the Teachers College faculty. Miss Mary D. Runyan had succeeded Miss Angeline Brooks, former kindergartner at New York College for Teachers, as kindergartner at Teachers College—both of whom were staunch Froebelians. Moreover, he had Susan E. Blow as a guest lecturer. So he would bring to the College this young Southern innovator, who dared to question the established kindergarten order, and have them battle out their differences.[21]

There was no question in Dean Russell's mind that he had found in Patty Smith Hill a sound thinker, a courageous exponent of her convictions and, most important, one who combined these qualities with the graciousness and charm that would win friends for her cause. When she was invited to join the faculty, she accepted only after much soul-searching. She was reluctant to leave her home and work in Kentucky; and, even more, she hesitated confronting, as she inevitably would, so formidable an antagonist as Susan E. Blow, a veteran twenty-five years her senior and one whom she respected and did not want to hurt.[22]

[21] Lawrence A. Cremin, David A. Shannon, Mary E. Townsend, *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), adapted, pp. 3-40.

[22] *Op. cit.*, Jammer, "Patty Smith Hill." Adapted, pp. 92-98.

Teachers College, Columbia University: Experimental

ALTHOUGH PATTY SMITH HILL'S WORK AT TEACHERS COLLEGE, Columbia University, began with the course she gave jointly with Susan Blow, she soon found herself part of the stir and excitement of the experimental atmosphere at Teachers College. How deeply Patty Smith Hill was imbued with the spirit of the experimentalism of a new era in education is given in her own words:

> In all the experiments the following problems have been more or less in mind: Among the apparently aimless and valueless spontaneous activities of the child, is it possible to discover some which may be used as the point of departure for ends of recognized worth? Are there some of the crude expressions which, if properly directed, may develop into the beginnings of the fine and industrial arts? How far does the preservation of the individuality and the freedom of the child demand self-initiated activities? Is it possible for the teachers to set problems or ends sufficiently childlike to fit in with the mode of growth and to inspire their adoption with the same fine enthusiasm which accompanies the self-initiated ones? Or, better still, if the activities and surroundings of the kindergarten were more like those in real life, would problems arise spontaneously out of these more lifelike situations as they do in life? [23]

These were the clearly defined questions to which she had sought answers in Louisville and the ones she brought to her new work at Teachers College. These were to remain the questions to which she would continue to seek answers even when later, under the spur of the measurement movement, she added another dimension. She grasped the possibilities the scientific age held for the betterment of humanity. She would use its contributions in her focus on what she held to be the most strategic of all periods of life—the age of childhood.

Two possibilities for carrying forward her experimentation when Patty Smith Hill came to Teachers College were: the Horace Mann School, the continuation of the school established by Nicholas Murray Butler at New York Teachers College, and the Speyer School. The first was located in Teachers College, the kindergarten having an advantageous location near the main entrance. The children came largely from the families of the faculty, trustees and others mainly in the higher income brackets who appreciated the opportunities offered by Horace Mann School. Speyer School was located in Manhattanville, north of the University, an area originally settled in the 1840's by Irish families escaping the famine and German emigrants from the revolutionary period of the 1840's but now rapidly becoming populated by poor ethnic groups.

Possibly as a carry-over of the philanthropic motivation of the Industrial Education Association, Dean Russell had established Speyer School with much of the social settlement aura of the time for the benefit of the neighborhood children. However, many of the staff of the Speyer School were still eager to carry over the philanthropic spirit and the manual training emphasis into Teachers College.

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[23] Patty Smith Hill, ed., *Experimental Studies in Kindergarten Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915), p. 3.

Realizing that the Horace Mann kindergarten, in charge of the Froebelian Miss Runyan, was not a favorable field for her experimentation and with her strong social-settlement interest, Miss Hill chose the Speyer School for her first efforts. The kindergarten was directed by Miss Luella Palmer, a graduate of Teachers College Kindergarten Department and Director of Kindergartens of Greater New York. Miss Hill decided to use the Speyer School kindergarten as a laboratory for the graduate course she was giving in Kindergarten Supervision.

The students in the course were to spend most of their time in the kindergarten observing and recording their observations. The children were to be given a maximum of freedom in both choosing their materials and in using them. The teacher was to be an older and wiser companion, on whom they could call for help and in their spirit of play would carry them beyond their initial impulses. Thus Patty Smith Hill launched her first effort at Teachers College to find more answers to those questions she had brought from Louisville.

The results strengthened Miss Hill's conviction that young children were capable of exercising large powers of self-government, creative activity and initiative, and that these could be channeled into activities leading to a good life in a democratic society. But New York was not Louisville. In Louisville she had been able to carry on this type of education with little more than amusedly tolerant opposition, but in New York it was different. The forces of tradition had too strong a hold for kindergartners quickly to right-about-face and accept something so radically different from what they previously had been taught. More groundwork had to be laid before another such attempt could be made.[21]

The years ahead became increasingly favorable to Patty Smith Hill's approach. Ground was being gained by the philosophy of John Dewey who, after leaving University of Chicago, had become head of the Columbia University Department of Philosophy with its implications for radical reform in education. The psychological research of Edward Thorndike was starting a wave of interest in learning and measurement. And Patty Smith Hill was a member of the same university in which these two giant intellects were challenging the whole educational world.

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[21] *A Conduct Curriculum for the Kindergarten and First Grade*, directed and written by Agnes Burke, Edith U. Conard, Alice Dalgliesh, Edna V. Hughes, Mary E. Rankin, Charlotte G. Garrison. Adapted from Introduction, pp. x, xi, by Patty Smith Hill, ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923).

The strength of Patty Smith Hill's thinking, her clarity of expression and her ability to carry her ideas into action soon brought her academic recognition. She was promoted from instructor and lecturer to Assistant Professor and in 1910 Head of the Department of Kindergarten Education, later called Nursery School, Kindergarten, and First Grade Education; to Associate Professor soon after; and to a full Professor in 1922. Such advancement was unusual as it is now for one, especially a woman, with no college degree.

The directorship of the department gave her, partly through replacements for retirement and partly through expansion of the program, the opportunity to staff the department with those of her own choosing. Charlotte Garrison came as a student to Teachers College in 1906 in time to enroll in one of the famous Blow-Hill courses; Agnes Burke, also as a student, came in 1910. Patty Smith Hill saw the strength of both and they became the backbone of the department, Miss Garrison as principal of the kindergarten and Miss Burke, first as kindergartner and then as first-grade teacher. Others of strength and specialized abilities followed: Annie Moore, who had been a beloved principal in Louisville; Alexina Booth, secretary to Miss Hill in Louisville, who became the ever-ready helper in the department, whatever the need; Alice Dalgliesh in Children's Literature; Alice G. Thorn as teacher of four-year-olds and Music; Mary M. Reed in the Social Studies; Edith U. Conard in Manuscript Writing; Edna V. Hughes in Language Arts; Mary E. Rankin as kindergarten teacher and playground director; and E. Mae Raymond as instructor in Nursery School, Kindergarten, First Grade Department. They taught children and graduate students and enrolled in advanced studies themselves. But above all, they worked side by side with Patty Smith Hill in observing and recording, devising equipment, developing curricula, speaking, experimenting, and publishing the results.

The Horace Mann kindergarten and first grade became a veritable laboratory of research in education, a most unorthodox laboratory with happy children as subjects. Miss Hill's office was just across the hall from the kindergarten and she was very much a part of it. She could often be seen going between her office and the kindergarten smiling gaily, dressed attractively—"children like teachers to wear pretty clothes and smell good," she would tell her students.

The graduate students and faculty who worked with her are always ready with stories about Patty Smith Hill. Charlotte Garrison tells one that seems particularly interpretive of the effect of her personality. The occasion was the visit of the Queen of Roumania to Columbia University. In Charlotte Garrison's words:

> Queen Marie had requested especially to visit the kindergarten

> to see the work being done with young children. The children were back for a special afternoon session for the purpose. A big fire blazed in the fireplace—the red carpet was out—but no queen. She had stayed to visit with a nurse at St. Luke's Hospital who had been in Roumania during the war and was a close friend.
>
> As time went on and no queen came something had to be done—so we asked Miss Hill to come in and shake hands with the children whose little noses were being worn out pressed to the windows waiting for the queen. Remember, we never thought of fooling the children but just thought to give them some consolation. Miss Hill came in wearing a wonderful foreign embroidered dress and looked the part of a queen. The children probably thought that anyone so dressed up must be a queen, that Miss Hill was the "real thing" and they were delighted to meet her.
>
> Some asked her where her crown was, but even explanations did not disillusion them. We did not know what a hit Miss Hill had made till she told us that all the rest of the year when she met the children in the halls or around the neighborhood she was greeted with, "How are you, Queen?" [23]

There was something queenly in Patty Smith Hill—in her dignity, her magnanimity, her assurance. Her students felt it, particularly at the department teas in the large "Patty Smith Hill Room," a social room which she had comfortably furnished near the kindergarten and which was later so named to honor her. Seated in a high-backed red-plush chair she was every inch the queen, and all as they entered gave her the homage which she graciously accepted.

In spite of her queenliness she could be most informal. Agnes Burke wrote:

> I wonder how many old-timers there are who remember the annual picnics of the kindergarten department of Teachers College? With our lunch baskets we went across the river on the 125th Street ferry (long since discontinued) and took a short trolley ride up the hill into the woods (also long since covered with houses and stores).
>
> We built a fire and made coffee and roasted hot dogs and marshmallows. We sat around the fire singing songs until a traditional event took place and that was—Miss Hill limping along with a cane leading us all around singing:
>
> "My dame has a lame, tame crane,
> My dame has a crane that is lame.
> So go gently, Jane,
> Take the lame, tame crane,
> Take the crane that is lame
> Down the lane."
>
> This was repeated over and over with variations until we were all exhausted. After this highlight of the day or evening, we

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[23] Charlotte Garrison, from a letter to Margaret Rasmussen, January 30, 1961 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

> put out the fire, full of ozone and pep for the coming final examinations.[26]

The play spirit of Martha Jane Hill in bringing up her children was never lost in Patty, as it bubbled forth in the delightful Professor Patty Smith Hill.

Many stories are of her generosity to students, of her concern for their personal welfare. Eleanor Burts tells of a student whom Miss Hill had asked to see after class one day. The young woman was frightened, feeling sure that she must have fallen short on something. Instead, Miss Hill surprised her by saying, "You are having trouble with your throat, aren't you?" As a matter of fact she was but she had no idea it was noticeable. The result was a visit to Miss Hill's physician and the trouble corrected.[27]

All the while, the work was gaining momentum through one channel or another. Agnes Burke, reminiscing over those early days, chuckles as she tells how she smuggled free play into the kindergarten when it was still under "traditional" direction. It took place in the courtyard, an open walled space in an angle of the college building where children lingered sometimes before school and played during recess. Here Miss Burke engaged the children in the free play activities with materials so loved by Patty Smith Hill and viewed with such distrust by the Froebelians as belonging possibly in the home, *not* in the kindergarten. The children loved it and begged that it be continued when they returned to their room.[28]

Observation and record-keeping went on diligently and were the basis for many of the college courses taught in the department. At one point Agnes Burke was so intrigued with the progress the children in the kindergarten were making that she wanted to carry them forward into the first grade. "But," she said to Miss Hill, "I don't know anything about the first-grade reading. Should I take a course this summer?" "No! No!" answered Miss Hill. "Observe the children and follow their lead as you have been doing. That is the best way to teach reading or anything else." [29] Miss Burke followed the advice; and many students testify, as does Eleanor Burts, that they learned more about teaching reading from Miss Burke than from anyone else.

Materials and equipment were a matter of concern. Constantly the teachers asked if some particular item helped in producing an environment conducive to creative activity, to social living. Did the blocks, for

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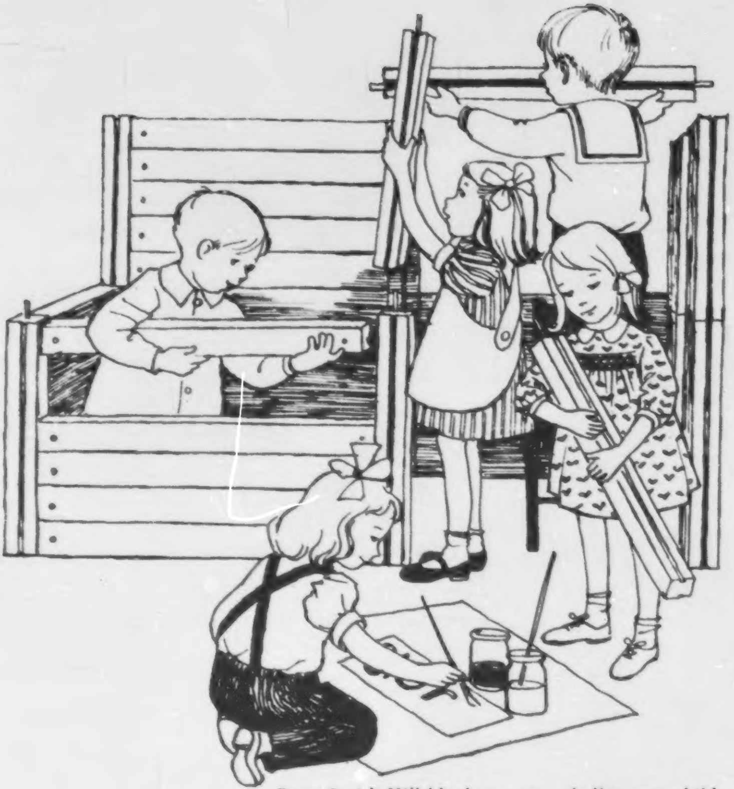
[26] Agnes Burke, from a letter to Margaret Rasmussen, January 7, 1961 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[27] Told at a social gathering of colleagues of Patty Smith Hill at the home of Eleanor Burts, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee, November 26, 1966.

[28, 29] *Ibid.*



Patty Smith Hill blocks—a new challenge to children

example, give sufficient opportunity for the kind of building the children wanted for carrying out their purposes? "Patty Smith Hill" blocks were the result and over the years made their way into many kindergartens throughout the world. The block set was big enough so children could build houses to play in or to set up a store or a fire engine house. Climbing apparatus, sliding boards, weights for lifting, swings—all manner of equipment was developed. Accessory materials—community workers; dolls; pots and pans; store equipment such as cash registers, scales, play money; trucks, cars, boats, trains; eye-hand coordination games and toys—were added as the developing imaginations of the children demanded. Many a day after school hours, the teachers could be found in the basement working with the help of Mr. Driscoll, the school carpenter, sawing, hammering, chiseling away as they brought their ideas into usable form.

The teachers were convinced that free social organization of their classrooms was bringing the desired results in the kind of acceptable social behavior essential in childhood for mature life in a democracy. They believed the time had come to give the public evidence of this proven fact and that this form of education would bring desirable results in *all* facets of a child's development. The study was launched and carried on for a five-year period; the results were published in 1923 in *A Conduct Curriculum for the Kindergarten and First Grade.*[30] The Introduction by Patty Smith Hill gives the background of the study and the body of the book, written by those who directed the study with Miss Hill's guidance, reports the process and results.

During the five years in which the study was conducted, competent teachers were trained to observe and record what the children did and the resulting achievements. The last were classified under the following categories:

Ability to initiate purposes and plans
Ability to persevere or "to stick to one's job," despite difficulties
Ability to lead and follow intelligently
Ability to work alone or in a group
Ability to know when one needs help and where such help is to be secured
Ability to give fair criticism to self and others and finally to profit by such criticism.

The teachers were convinced from their observation and their records that the free organization of the kindergarten was conducive to the development of the above abilities.

At the end of five years, confident as Miss Hill and the teachers were of the results of their work, they felt in the interest of scientific objectivity the need for criticism and evaluation by a trained psychologist. Several psychologists were consulted and they all agreed that the above categories were too large and too vague to permit a valid analysis. To meet this problem, the services of Dr. Agnes Rogers were secured to break up the large captions into the specific habits involved. Dr. Rogers worked with between three and four hundred leaders in kindergarten and primary education to get their opinions as to the most desirable and possible habits toward which kindergarten and primary education should be directed. The result was the "Tentative Inventory of Habits" of eighty-four specifics, described by Parker and Temple in *A Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Curriculum.*[31] It was not only used in the study being conducted at Horace Mann, Teachers College, Columbia University, and in the Laboratory School of Chicago University but was widely accepted throughout the country.*

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[30] *Op. cit.*, Hill (ed.), *A Conduct Curriculum.*
[31] *Op. cit.*, Parker and Temple, pp. 397-425.

"As this habit inventory was used," Miss Hill wrote, "the supervisors and classroom teachers began to think of all instruction in terms of desirable changes in thought, feeling and/or conduct; in other words, in terms of changed behavior due to a changed nervous system." [32]

Recourse was had to Dr. Edward L. Thorndike's writing for further clarification of thinking. The following conception of behavior was accepted:

> I use it [behavior] to refer to those activities of thought, feeling and conduct in the broadest sense which an animal—here, man—exhibits, which are omitted from discussion by the physics, chemistry, and ordinary psychology of today and which are referred by popular usage to intellect, character, skill, and temperament. Behavior, then, is not contrasted with, but inclusive of, conscious life.[33]

With Professor Thorndike's definition as authoritative and Dr. Roger's inventory based on opinion as criteria, the study was reported in two columns: Typical Activities and Desirable Changes in Thought, Feeling and Action. Three groups of children participated: Group 1, the 2½- to 4-year-olds; Group 2, the 4½- to 5½-year-olds; and the first grade, the 6- to 7-year-olds. The lunch experience is offered as one illustrative activity:

Lunch

Group 1

Typical Activities	*Desirable Changes in Thought, Feeling and Conduct*
Washing hands	Learning:
(Individual pans, soap, paper towels)	to get pans quietly and without dripping them
	to pour water from partly filled pitcher into pan and to carry without spilling
	to wash hands without unnecessary splashing
	to clean up after washing hands
	pouring water into pail
	wiping pan with paper towel
	putting towel in scrap-basket.[34]

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* Charts similar to Tentative Inventory of Habits, from study at Teachers College, Columbia University, were made by Olga Adams and Priscilla Kinsman and used in the University of Chicago Laboratory School and distributed by University Bookstore.

[32] *Op. cit.*, Hill (ed.), *A Conduct Curriculum*, p. xiv.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, xv.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Such analyses are made, each at three levels of difficulties, under the following categories:

- The Work Period
  - General activities
  - Specific activities:
    - Block building, manipulative toys, sand
- Industrial and Fine Arts
  - Clay, wood work, drawing, painting, block printing, sewing, weaving, paper work, doll play, household arts
- Other Activities of the Morning
  - Lunch: hygiene and safety
  - Music: rhythmic responses with and without musical instruments, appreciation
  - Plays and games: dramatic activity, hiding and finding plays
  - Pictures
  - Language
  - Literature and Library
  - Reading: those marked * for first grade only
  - Writing (as in reading)
  - Number
  - Social Studies: special days, current events, birthdays, going to shows, promotion to another grade
  - Nature: plant life, animal life, minerals, natural forces, excursions
  - General Conduct: going through halls, walking through streets, crossing streets, learning how to look at things

There are twenty-eight specific activities listed under Reading. A few with the "desirable corresponding changes" will be listed for those for first grade (*) and those (no*) for younger levels:

Typical Activities	*Desirable Changes in Thought, Feeling and Conduct*
Listening to stories told by teacher and children	Interest in reading stimulated Learning:
Listening to stories read by teacher and children	That symbols have meaning Names of letters
Children asking, "What does it say?" "Where does it say?" etc.	*Alphabet (through use) *Sounds of many letters
Repeating rhymes, verses, telling stories and experiences	*To recognize words, phrases, sentences
Recognizing: Particular books by name Stories in books Names on materials' boxes	To use symbols to express ideas *To analyze words (to see likenesses, differences, to recognize initial consonants)
Printing or writing names or initials on drawings and other works	*To recognize familiar words in new situations in other books, in newspapers, on bulletin board, on signs [35]
*Making signs—printed or written for use in real or play situations	

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[35] *Ibid.*, items selected from p. 83.

No attempt was made in the report to indicate the specific subject matter to be used in any part of the curriculum. This was left to the teacher. Only the general situations were given which were used in the experiment from which the desirable habits believed to have resulted.

Patty Smith Hill had added another dimension to the questions to which she had sought answers from the beginning. Now it was discovered that "the records of the children's progress served, not only as a statement of what had actually transpired, but as standards of possible attainment through the more freely organized work and play." [36] The emphasis had shifted from process to goals.

Apparently aware that the position she had now taken was a departure from her earlier experimentation, Miss Hill wrote:

> In previous experiments we have attempted to apply the principles of education set forth by Doctor John Dewey especially in his theory of the socialized school, the relation of interest to effort, and the conditions of moral training and of thinking. In this experiment we have endeavored to conserve these brilliant contributions. An effort has, however, been made to analyze these into more definite and measurable form, in closer accord with the standards of present day psychology.

She claimed for the changed emphasis the elimination of vagueness, but obviously she was sensitive to its dangers by warning that in setting definite aims "we must, however, endeavor to make them a means of wider freedom; otherwise we may clip the wings of the child, robbing these early years of their naíve and carefree spontaneity." [37] Similarly those who directed the experiment seem to have had their misgivings as they stressed in their statements the need for flexibility and the necessity for developing the experiences in a social atmosphere in any attempt teachers may make to apply the experimental findings to their situations.

At Teachers College: Writing

A CONDUCT CURRICULUM WAS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF BOOKS EACH applying its principles to a specific field of the curriculum: Art, Manuscript Writing, Play Materials, Language and Literature, Music, Character Traits, Behavior, Science. [38] In each of her introductions, Miss Hill, to a greater or lesser degree, consistently expresses her fervor for freedom and creativity but with the need to measure results. Thus in Alice Dalgliesh's book on literature she comments that we have no scientific proof that literature develops character or if the dramatic or the quietly told method of story telling is the better.[39] In her introduction to Miss McLester's book on *Character Traits*, she states that the records "are not an attempt to present scientific data in statistical form," then indicates the need for such studies which, of necessity, require heavy financing."[40] While commenting favorably on Miss Mathias's creative approach to art and to her efforts to find a way of evaluating them, Miss Hill adds: "Unless we can demonstrate that freedom is the best medium for growth in both measurable and nonmeasurable achievements, we are not worthy of the liberty bestowed upon us."[41] Her predilection for beauty and gaiety and her fear that they may be lost in an industrial age are shown in her introduction to Miss Linnel's book on school festivals when she states: "The present outlook for our masses seems to point to a mechanical work life with few opportunities for creative invention or the free play of ideas."[42]

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[36] *Ibid.*, pp. xii, xiii.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. xviii, xix.
[38] *Ibid.*, adapted from pp. 10-16.

In the masterly treatment of *The Beginnings of the Social Sciences* by Mary M. Reed and Lulu E. Wright,[43] both Miss Hill and the authors seem to have swung entirely free from the goals set by the Habit Inventory—although in no area of the curriculum could it have been more tempting—and instead have been guided by the natural activities and interests of children in a social setting as Dewey would have had it. It is "all Dewey." There is a two-column arrangement but it is set up in terms of "The Potential Curricula" and "The Functioning Curricula." Here was experimentation at its best with a potential curriculum—the advance planning needed for effective education—determined by a study of children over a wide geographic area as to their interests in community, communication, transportation, industry, and an environment assumed to be stimulating to these interests set up accordingly. Then daily records including the conversation and action of both children and teachers were kept. From these were reported "The Functioning Curricula" in the column so named. Thus we have the Dewey philosophy truly applied, comparable in fact to Alice Temple's experimentation at the University of Chicago Laboratory School, with its emphasis on process. Here was freedom from attempting to find ways through children's activities to develop behavior in conformity with middle-class adult standards as in *A Conduct Curriculum*.

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[39] Alice Dalgliesh, *First Experiences with Literature*, Introduction by Patty Smith Hill (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. xi, xii.

[40] Amelia McLester, *The Development of Character Traits in Young Children*, Introduction by Patty Smith Hill (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), p. xii.

[41] Margaret E. Mathias, *The Beginnings of Art in the Public Schools*, Introduction by Patty Smith Hill (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. xi.

[42] Adelaide Linnel, *The School Festival*, Introduction by Patty Smith Hill (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931).

[43] Mary M. Reed and Lulu E. Wright, *The Beginnings of the Social Sciences*, Introduction by Patty Smith Hill (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).

The series on the whole, with some exceptions as in the Reed and Wright book on the Social Sciences, represents a dualism of approach between an "open-end" philosophy with its emphasis on process and the identity of ends and means—as against a psychology of specific ends, to be achieved through the exercise of specific stimuli and responses based in just as specific neural connections. Patty Smith Hill and Alice Temple attempted to apply the values of both to the education of young children, and each in her individual way made substantial contributions in both directions. Certainly they set the pace for an education that meant a happier childhood because they projected a freer, more creative, more imaginative childhood than any that had gone before. What would have been the result had they put all their efforts here we cannot tell. Suppose, for example, that "The Functioning Curricula," the "ends" of the Reed and Wright book, had been used as "the means" for the next step in the ongoing developmental process. Would it have had the weight to combat, at least to some extent, the "determinism," the labeling of children according to test results that Professor Bagley foresaw as the aftermath of the emphasis on testing? We do not know; we can only speculate. But we do know that for decades the tempting definiteness of the testing movement has constituted a serious threat to creativeness, the most distinctly human of all the potentials of the race.

Besides her editing of the Series on Childhood Education published by Charles Scribner's Sons, Patty Smith Hill during her teaching years contributed generously to professional journals. In addition, she produced two substantial bulletins. The one, *Kindergarten Problems,* written in 1912 in collaboration with John Angus MacVannel, Professor of Philosophy at Teachers College, is a reprint of a paper given before the Conference of Training Teachers and Supervisors at the meeting of International Kindergarten Union at Buffalo in 1909.[11] The bulletin is a fine example of cooperation between two fine minds, the one of the professional philosopher and the other, philosophic but more concerned with the application of principle to practice.

The second bulletin, *Experimental Studies in Kindergarten Education,* written in 1915, adds evidence to Miss Hill's experimental interest. Again she is the editor, making a forceful plea in her introduction for the continued effort to learn more and more about children and to base our practices on what we learn. John Dewey contributed a paper on "Reasoning in Early Childhood" and five reports of experiments carried on in different parts of the United States.[12]

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[11] John Angus MacVannel and Patty Smith Hill, *Kindergarten Problems* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1912).

[12] Patty Smith Hill (ed.), *Experimental Studies in Kindergarten Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915).

Liberal Leader in IKU

DURING ALL HER PROFESSIONAL LIFE, PATTY SMITH HILL CONTINUED to work in organizations, particularly in International Kindergarten Union and its successor, Association for Childhood Education. Besides serving as Vice-President of IKU in 1907-08 and President in 1908-09 and on the Advisory Committee from 1924-45, she was active on the following committees:

Committee of Nineteen	1904-1945
Training and Supervision	1913-1917
Froebel Pilgrimage and Memorial	1910-1921
Cooperation with NEA	1912-1921
Cooperation with Bureau of Education	1913-1931
Three-Year Training Course	1917-1918
Tests and Measurements	1920-1921
Council of Supervisors and Training Teachers	1922-1924
Nursery Education, chairman	1925-1935
Childhood Education: Advisory Editor	1936-1944

The committee work brought Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill closely together. On the Committee of Nineteen they worked jointly from 1921 on, during the years the committee sponsored the International Tours in 1923 and 1927 to assist in the work in early childhood education that had been started during World War I when Fanniebelle Curtis worked with the Kindergarten Unit in France. On the same committee they helped prepare the book, *Pioneers of the Kindergarten in America.*[16] Both Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill with their concern that the IKU should not become "ingrown" but take advantage of participating in the efforts of others in the interest of children, served effectively on both the Committee for Cooperation with the National Education Association and the Committee on Cooperation with the U. S. Bureau of Education. With their desire to see the principles of the kindergarten extended to the nursery school, they both served on the Committee for Nursery Education. Significant as was all Patty Smith Hill's committee work, no doubt her most lasting contribution was made on the Committee of Nineteen as chairman of the Liberal subcommittee. Her section of the Committee's publication is a comprehensive and definitive statement of the philosophy that has since largely governed the American kindergarten.

Learning and Cooperating Internationally

ALWAYS INTERESTED IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, MISS HILL followed the activities of a Teachers College group—Annie C. Moore, Dr. Milo B. Hillegas and Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick—that went to

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[16] *Op. cit.*, IKU Committee of Nineteen.

Rome to study Mme. Montessori's method first-hand prior to her American visit in 1915. Miss Hill found support in Montessori's work for her own experimental approach, in the use of materials related to life, in what Mme. Montessori called "autoeducation." Miss Hill was critical, however, of the system in that it underemphasized play, in its lack of honoring children's motives and purposes, and in its neglect of social learnings. She concluded by saying, "We have in America today educators far in advance of any from foreign shores. When will we hear the voice of the prophets in our midst and put an end to the importation of foreign systems as such, none of which meet the needs of our democratic society? The error may be repeated in introducing the Montessori system."[17] There was an upsurge of Montessori schools following the founder's 1915 visit but the system did not, in any way at the time, supplant the indigenous kindergarten. Much later, however, in the 1960's, its promise of early intellectual achievement through the Montessori system was to win new American adherents.

Another foreign development that drew the interest of Patty Smith Hill was the emphasis placed by the Russians on preschool education following the Revolution of 1917. Planning went on steadily, its importance to the national welfare indicated by All-Russian Congresses on preschool education in 1919, 1921, 1924 and 1927. The moving spirit in the development was Vera Fediaevsky. She wrote an article for CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, "The Kindergarten in Russia," in 1926,[18] was invited to speak at the meeting of International Kindergarten Union in 1927, and then spent seven weeks in America studying kindergartens. Her visit was followed by an exchange visit to Russia by members of the Teachers College early childhood education faculty and this, in turn, by a visit by Patty Smith Hill. Friendly relations continued with each side appreciatively studying the contributions of the other. Miss Fediaevsky wrote three other articles on the Russian preschool education for CHILDHOOD EDUCATION and, encouraged by Patty Smith Hill, finally told the story in book form in both Russian and English. After vainly trying to find an editor for the English version who knew not only English and Russian but early childhood education as well, Miss Hill undertook the task and wrote the introduction.[19]

In the Introduction Miss Hill states that she considered her Russian visit a great experience. She comments favorably on the provision for working mothers in special rooms at railroad stations and special trains to carry them from one factory or farm to another; on the provisions for physical care of the children accompanying the mothers and the play equipment provided according to age at stations and in coaches. She closes with a plea for willingness of American educators to learn from other countries, speaking admiringly of Vera Fediaevsky and her contribution.[50] Miss Fediaevsky acknowledges the help she gained from American educators particularly in the way of equipment and materials.

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[17] Patty Smith Hill, "Some Hopes and Fears for the Kindergarten of the Future," Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the IKU, Washington, D. C., 1913, pp. 95, 96.

[18] Vera Fediaevsky, "The Kindergarten in Russia," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, Vol. III, No. 1, Sept., 1926, pp. 33-35.

[19] Vera Fediaevsky and Patty Smith Hill, *Nursery School and Parent Education in Soviet Russia* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1936).

Retirement: Manhattanville, Remaking a Neighborhood

PATTY SMITH HILL RETIRED FROM TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA University in 1935. Those last years, in the midst of the Depression when all university campuses were seething with unrest and an undefined fear, Patty Smith Hill, true to her early upbringing, turned her attention constructively to help the depressed. Always focusing on young children she became active in the Federal Emergency Nursery Schools. She felt this was a time the uphill work of a half century and more for young children must not be lost. "Now is the time to consolidate the gains," she said. And she went to work with a will.

Wide recognition of her work had come to her and with it honors were bestowed. In 1927 students from all over the world celebrated her fortieth year of teaching and made her a gift of $10,000 to be used as she saw fit. In 1928 she was the recipient of a medal from the Parents Association of Greater New York. In 1929, the year that marked the 175th anniversary of the founding of Columbia University, she was awarded the honorary degree of Lit.D., an unusual honor for a woman at that time. In bestowing the degree, President Nicholas Murray Butler said:

> Patty Smith Hill, Diploma, Louisville Free Kindergarten Association Training School, 1888; Professor of Education, year in and year out offering answer to the age-old question of Epictetus, "What constitutes a child?" in the spirit of Froebel finding new ways to make the child the father of the worthwhile man.[51]

On the occasion of her retirement her portrait was presented to the College and unveiled. Dean James Earl Russell, with whom she had worked for so many years and who had himself retired, said:

> You see in this the mature woman and well-known educator at the height of her powers, who can look back upon a career that needs no eulogies from me. Her students the world around, her gracious presence and personal devotion, all testify to a life of successful accomplishment rarely vouchsafed to any educator of either sex . . . we did graciously place the crown on the head

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[50] *Ibid.*, adapted from Introduction.
[51] *Op. cit.*, Gwinn, p. 162.

> of Patty Hill and nobly, happily has she worn it these past thirty years.[52]

When James Earl Russell retired from the Deanship of Teachers College in 1927, he did so with the feeling that the College was at a crossroads. A rapidly changing world demanded a new look at education. Many of the outstanding faculty that he had brought to the College were reaching retirement age. It seemed a strategic time for a younger man to take the helm. The trustees appointed his son, William Russell, "not because of but in spite of his being a son," in his place.

Dean William Russell spent the first two years in office developing the library into one of the most complete educational libraries in the world and finding new faculty for needed replacements by drawing from some of the best universities in the United States and abroad. Then in 1929, just before the Great Depression, he called the faculty together to begin thinking about changes in organization which his father, without specifying them, had felt essential to the continued vitality of the College.

There is no doubt that the shock of the Great Depression dominated the deliberations of the faculty on the reorganization of the College. There, as everywhere, thoughtful educators asked themselves if they had played a sufficiently responsible role in the social, political and economic life of their world. World War I had raised doubts in their minds; now this new disaster. No matter what aspect of the curriculum came up for discussion, sooner or later the social role of education became a determining factor in the decisions.

While the focus of the faculty was education, many were examining their own political views and, feeling their responsibilities as citizens as well as teachers, became active in political movements of many shades from left to right. The students, many of whom were feeling the pangs of hunger besides not knowing how they were going to pay their college fees, were restless and often rebellious. Young Socialist and young Communist leagues sprang up; street corner rallies were held; "throwaways" bitterly asking, "Why? Why?" were distributed to passers-by; and time and again students joined strikers in picket lines.

This was the atmosphere in which Patty Smith Hill passed the last years of her professorship. Never one to be content with talk without action she cast her eyes on Manhattanville, the slum area north of Columbia University, the "valley" below the "heights." In an article she wrote later for CHILDHOOD EDUCATION she tells how Manhattanville began in 1932 and became the major motivating factor in the fourteen remaining years of her life, as she envisioned it:

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

> . . . a lab for all twenty institutions on the hill in which teachers, artists, musicians, theologians, rabbis, architects, and social workers could be prepared for future community service in any locality they may be elected to direct. . . . Dozens or hundreds of small community experiments in building a new society, even on a small scale, might lead us to the much discussed new social order without turning the world upside down to bring it about.[24]

Her first step was a call on President Butler. As always, he was ready to listen to his respected old colleague with whom he had shared so many dreams for the University. The dream this day made a particular appeal to him and as a result he called together a committee representative of the major institutions on the hill—Columbia University, Teachers College, Union Theological Seminary, Jewish Theological Seminary, and the Julliard School of Music. This committee, augmented by representatives of churches and other organizations, was to play a strategic role in the rehabilitation of Manhattanville in the years ahead.

With her lifelong emphasis on preschool education, it was to be expected that Patty Smith Hill would seize the opportunity offered by the Federal Emergency Nursery School Program as a strategic beginning point in her Manhattanville Project. The Federal Government, in its dual purpose to help both the child victims and the unemployed of the Depression, supplied the salaries of teachers, nurses, parent workers, dieticians and doctors, while the community was to provide housing and upkeep for nursery schools. Patty Smith Hill secured rent free the old building of the Jewish Theological Seminary on 123rd Street, recently vacated when the seminary moved to a new building. A fund from the New York Foundation administered by Teachers College financed the physical maintenance of the nursery school.

Patty Smith Hill had the direct supervision of the project. Many of her former students were teachers in the project and a number of faculty members of Teachers College worked with her to enrich the program. As always she worked particularly with parents of the children, not only on child care but in attempting to bring a larger view and more happiness to them as adults. Social by nature, she did much in providing fun. She was always interested in the celebration of holidays, feeling that those of us in the United States had lost much in not having the gala days of Europe. Taking advantage of the many national backgrounds represented in the group, she encouraged them to give programs of their own in the way they had celebrated holidays in the old country. She mentions this in her CHILDHOOD EDUCATION article on Hilltop, the name given to the nursery school program. She tells that the parents were not interested in cultural events but preferred making their own entertainment, that she

[24] Patty Smith Hill, "Hilltop, a Community Experiment," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, VOL. XIII, No. 5, January 1937, pp. 201-205.

began with singing and from this led to the celebration of holidays. Then with a touch of the long-ago Patty-of-Louisville days when she spoke of her "years of daily contact with this class of people," she writes of the Hilltop group, "They were but poor grown-up children in dire need of some form of developing service, recreation or pleasure on their own level of maturity." [54] Intellectually she had accepted the ideals of democracy but the nineteenth-century philanthropy was bred in her bones. In action she was motivated far more by compassion than by social justice. And that in her day was accountable in part for her remarkable achievements.

Not only did Patty Smith Hill take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Federal Emergency Nursery School Program as a means for furthering her community purposes, but on an even larger scale she saw in New College a means for the realization of some of her most cherished goals in teacher education. New College was the latest experimental venture of Teachers College, having just opened in September 1932. Professor Thomas Alexander, a member of the teacher education department, had argued for fifteen years for the establishment of such a college on the campus. Perhaps it was due to the general interest in the reorganization of Teachers College curriculum, and perhaps even more to the strong sense of social responsibility developing among the faculty, that its establishment was countenanced at this time.

The authors of *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University* characterize New College as "an interesting and unorthodox venture in the education of teachers." [55] The adjectives are well chosen for a program that so completely departed from the curriculum offered by any teachers' college, normal school or department of education then in existence. From the time the first published announcement appeared there could be no doubt of its social point of view. Quoting from George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (N. Y.: John Day Co., 1932), it boldly declares,

> It is the peculiar privilege of the teacher to play a large part in the development of the social order of the next generation.

It goes on to say that this will require "contact with life in its various phases and understanding of it—an understanding of the intellectual, moral, social, and economic life of the people." [56]

Thus socially oriented, the program centered around a series of experiences: living on a farm—one had been purchased for the purpose in Western North Carolina—raising, preparing and preserving food; caring for animals; building and repairing; working in industry—side by side with laborers and mechanics; participating in social service—in hospitals, institutions for the handicapped; understanding other cultures through living and studying abroad. With each of these experiences was a seminar in which the problems were defined, analyzed and studied. No discrete courses were scheduled in education but seminars built around experiences in school and community integrated the several educational fields in handling the problems encountered. For general education background, students, with faculty guidance, selected courses for their individual needs anywhere in the university. No grades or credits were given but evaluation was based on detailed cumulative records of performance. No specific time was set for completion of the program, graduation depending upon meeting definite standards. It was a year-round program, occasional vacations being determined individually.

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[55] *Op. cit.*, Cremin et al, p. 222.
[56] New College Announcement (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932).

Patty Smith Hill entered into active cooperation with New College * through the social service aspect of its program. Some of the young students shared the concern of Professor Hill over Manhattanville, "the slum at Columbia's backdoor" as they had come to speak of it. Six women and men decided that they would spend their 1934 summer finding out what really went on in Manhattanville. They wandered about the streets dropping into stores, shops, eating places, looking and listening and, when possible, chatting with the people they met. They were friendly with young boys and girls playing precariously in the traffic-crowded streets and organized games on the parkways lining Riverside Drive and in Morningside Park. This led to invitations to homes and acquaintance with the families. The experience was a shocking one to these sensitive adolescents and they poured out their feelings in moving verse and prose, in realistic sketches and snapshots. They bound these into an artistic handmade book, dramatic in its human appeal. Like Patty Smith Hill, they had to do something about it, and she and they joined forces.

The group presented the book to their seminar in the fall. The decision was made that the seminar would undertake a survey of the area as a necessary step to locating the problems on which efforts at the rehabilitation of the neighborhood would have to be based. The result was very different from the impressionistic story of the summer. With consultant help of sociologists, economists, political scientists, statisticians and others on the University faculty, these young undergraduates produced a survey of high quality. It was duplicated in mimeographed bulletin

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* *Editor's Note:*
The section on the remaking of a neighborhood is based mainly on the experiences of the writer, Agnes Snyder, who was a member of the New College faculty, adviser of the students on the Manhattanville project and closely associated with Patty Smith Hill.

form and widely distributed among agencies in the area. This added to the interest initiated by Patty Smith Hill.

Now the work started in earnest and during the next four years proliferated into a variety of activities involving all ages among the people of Manhattanville and sponsored by every type of civic and social agency. Ferment in Manhattanville was comparable to the ferment on the University campus. At Teachers College, the five-year study of the reorganization of the curriculum was completed just at the time of Patty Smith Hill's retirement. Now she was free to move from the ferment of the campus to the ferment of the community.

The first project undertaken by New College in its neighborhood was the establishment of a kindergarten for the four-year-olds. The observations of the summer and the survey had revealed this particular need. This was due to the fact that the Federal Emergency Nursery School Program provided only for children up to four. Professor Hill arranged for the housing of the kindergarten group along with the younger groups of the Federal project in the old Jewish Theological Seminary building. Here was an opportunity for exercising the dual function of New College in preparing its undergraduate students for classroom teaching and the graduate students of Teachers College for supervision and college teaching. New College and Teachers College faculty joined in staffing, supervising and giving their specialized services.

Naturally with the children came parents to the building. Soon they voiced the desire for more education for themselves, a need already revealed in the survey that had been made. Soon the old building, once the home of sober students of rabbinical lore, hummed morning, noon and night with activities of all levels, nursery school and kindergarten for the young children, recreation for boys and girls in the late afternoon, and adult education classes ranging from sewing to French with all kinds of practical and academic courses between. In all of these activities, Teachers College faculty and students and New College faculty and students worked side by side with residents of the community. At one point, Patty Smith Hill saw these activities becoming a full-fledged neighborhood school that would provide a demonstration of what a community-centered school could do in the development of a neighborhood.[57]

All went well until the funds from the New York Foundation were exhausted. The old building needed extensive repairs—including a new roof—and, with the general tightness of money in those Depression years, it became impossible to maintain the building. Having to give up this building had two significant results. First, Lincoln School, the experimental elementary and secondary school of Teachers College on 123rd Street, offered to share its facilities in the afternoons and evenings. Its parent group had from the beginning been sympathetic and cooperative in the Manhattanville project. Now it was to make this very generous offer. Soon the Lincoln School was the scene of activities comparable to those that had flourished in the seminary building—only more so, particularly in the afternoon when the Police Athletic League rounded up the neighborhood gangs for athletics.

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[57] New College Bulletin (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Vol. I, 1932).

The other outcome of the change of setting was the formation of the Community Organization for Cooperative Education, Inc.[14] As the project progressed a very strong leadership group emerged among the adults of Manhattanville. They were imbued with the spirit of cooperation and, despite their difficult struggles in maintaining a livelihood, had given time and energy to the Hilltop project. A strong bond of friendship had grown up among them and they decided that they might be the nucleus of an effective neighborhood association. Professor Hill had become acquainted with the group at Hilltop and had learned to like and respect them. Now she had a new dream—a family camp!

There was the fund she had received on the fortieth anniversary of her teaching ready at hand. From time to time she had drawn on it for the Manhattanville project. She had turned it over to Teachers College and it had been invested wisely, so most of it was intact. She offered $2000 of it to the Community Association for Cooperative Education, Inc. The group accepted the offer, and the search of a campsite began. Professor Hill finally located it, an abandoned farm of sixty-five acres, on a rocky wooded hillside in Sullivan County, ninety miles from New York City. The farmhouse was dilapidated but the foundations and walls were sturdy. There was a tumble-down barn; a pump outside the kitchen to supply water when the spring was not dry; a furnace that long since had ceased to function; no electricity and no plumbing. After much bargaining, Professor Hill secured it for the allocated $2000.

On December 6, 1937, Patty Smith Hill wrote a lengthy letter to the Association in reply to the group's request for a statement from her regarding her purposes and ideals. The following paragraphs are significant:

> Of course, our first ideals in such a community set-up are health and sanitation to be worked out through our activities. Next come the opportunities for developing through our own knowledge and ideals, the physical and economic improvements of the property, through which we will increase our own comfort and welfare. This will demand improvement of the soil for our gardens through fertilization, rotation of crops and reforestation, etc.

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[14] *The New York Times*, March 6, 1938, "Community Formed in Columbia Area." *Herald Tribune* also reported, "A Cooperative for Education Formed Uptown."

> Again, there must be studies of landscaping, gardening, decoration and building of homes, etc. etc. I have dared to hope that in time each family might find a way to build its own little shack or cabin, with its own garden for flowers and vegetables, and its own backyard with chickens and pets for children. . . . But these are all dreams of mine, and the farm must be a place for all of us to work out our dreams. This is not to be a place with those things provided by others for us, such as the villages worked out by the New Deal people. No, we must work out for ourselves a community embodying our ideals of justice and good will for all—creating one spot in this war-ridden world where life is healthier, happier and more beautiful, because of our beliefs in the possibility of a better world.[29]

The dream of the gardens and raising vegetables was never realized—there was no arable land; nor were there ever individual cottages built; nor was there much in the way of landscaping. The group was too busy tearing down the barn and building an outdoor toilet; struggling with the ever-present problem of securing sufficient water supply; establishing an electricity system; restoring the tumble-down porch to the farm house and such tasks. But the amazing thing is that, year after year, the group—the Manhattanville neighborhood people, the faculty and students of Teachers College and New College—working, each according to his skill, manfully attacked the job of making a livable family camp. And year after year the families enjoyed the camp and came for weekends, one-week, two-week stays and longer. It was an heroic struggle but Patty Smith Hill saw her faith justified—perhaps in the most important area, a glimpse for some of a good life produced through hard work shared with others for a common goal.

The efforts of the Community Association for Cooperative Education, Inc., did not confine itself to the family camp. They continued active in the afternoon and evening classes housed at the Lincoln School and, because the old Jewish Theological Seminary was no longer available, found quarters for their four-year-old kindergarten in a loft on Broadway. Here the work proceeded as before through their cooperation with students and teachers of New College and Teachers College.

Then came the blow. In the fall of 1938 Dean Russell announced to the faculty and students of New College that, as of June 1939, New College would cease to exist. Why? The question has often been asked. It had been launched as a six-year experiment consistent with the policy of Teachers College of not establishing long-time experimental efforts and, furthermore, with the financial strains of the Depression, Teachers College could not afford to carry New College with its deficit. (It was really a slight one.) These were the reasons given. But an angry student body along with many of the faculty did not readily accept the reasons given. A year of protest followed—letter-writing, pamphlets, speeches, rallies were the order of the day. Tremendous support came from all over the country from educators who saw in New College the kind of fundamental reform in teacher education so sadly needed. But to no avail! New College closed in June 1939. Why did New College close? No doubt, the reasons given were the immediate ones. But deep down underneath these, the reason was the same as the one that temporarily stopped Patty Smith Hill's first experimentation at Speyer School—the academic world was not ready for it.

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[29] From the appendix of a mimeographed report of the Community Association for Cooperative Education, Inc., January 1938.

With New College closed and the faculty and the student body scattered, Patty Smith Hill saw the end of the educational activities of the Community Association for Cooperative Education. Lincoln School soon followed the fate of New College. The family camp, however, continued for many years as the children grew to adulthood. It was not until 1964 that the Association decided that its purpose had been served and turned over the property to Teachers College to be added to the Patty Smith Hill Fund, the original student gift.

Patty Smith Hill had continued working with the agencies concerned with the Manhattanville slum clearance. The original committee appointed by President Butler and the most influential agencies and individuals of Morningside Heights worked unceasingly for the improvement of the area. Finally through their efforts a Federal grant was secured, and today instead of decaying tenements high-rise apartment houses speak of comfort and good living. Columbia University need no longer be ashamed of its "back yard." There are hundreds of original residents about whom we know nothing. They had sent their children to the kindergarten and had gone with them to the family camp, had attended evening courses to get a bit of the education denied them in their earlier lives, and their children had attended the afternoon activities at the old Seminary building and Lincoln School. As in most slum clearance projects, as the steam shovels came in and their homes were destroyed the people vanished, their identity lost as they found refuge in other city slums.

There are some, however, of whom this is not true. The ones who had carried the burden in making Patty Smith Hill's dream a near reality—the leadership group of Manhattanville, the young New College students, the social-minded faculty of New College and Teachers College—have forged a bond among themselves that has never been broken. Friendships were formed as they labored together that broke through all barriers of ethnic, educational, religious differences. Forty years later there are still reunions to reminisce over those days of toil. The children have grown, have married, many occupying responsible professional positions. Patty Smith Hill's finest goals for the community were realized in the spark she ignited in the people.

She did not live to see the consummation of her dream of a transformed Manhattanville, of the rehabilitation of the old Speyer School, now the Manhattanville Community Center, at which she had looked longingly as a home for a community school. Nor did she see some of that anniversary fund finance an experimental study which, though tempered by the thinking of another time, was based on the observation of children as she had advocated and practiced throughout her professional life.[60]

Besides her continued community interests in her last years, though her health was far from good, she continued to be active professionally. Living through the Second World War intensified her desire to help cement international relations. Once again drawing on the anniversary fund, she contributed enough money to the Association for Childhood Education International to finance fellowships for one German and two Norwegian teachers in American universities.

The dynamic quality of her teaching continued to her latest years, and occasionally she was invited to speak at Teachers College seminars. Margaret Rasmussen attended some of those seminars and many years later recalled the experience in her column, "Over the Editor's Desk," in Childhood Education. She wrote:

> I deeply appreciated hearing her talk a number of times after her retirement when I was doing graduate work. I recall remarking at the end of a lecture attended by a dozen or so graduate students,"How I wish everyone at home teaching young children could have heard Patty Smith Hill today! What a pity only a few heard her!" But what she taught was never to be forgotten.[61]

Her far-seeing vision never interfered with her attention to detail, while her driving force and enthusiasm inspired others to action. These qualities were particularly evident in her relations with students. Every student was a person to her, and she entered into the student's personal as well as professional problems. It was her custom on trips, if a student were willing, to get in touch with the student's family. She was warm, generous, open hearted and gracious with all. These combined qualities caused many to agree with Professor Kilpatrick's evaluation of her contribution to education:

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[60] Kenneth D. Wann, Miriam Selchen Dorn, Elizabeth Ann Little, *Fostering Intellectual Development in Young Children* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962) is a report of observation of children and generalizations drawn. This study was financed with Patty Smith Hill funds.

[61] Margaret Rasmussen, "Over the Editor's Desk," Childhood Education, March 1961, Vol. 37, No. 7.

I count that Anna E. Bryan, Francis W. Parker, and John Dewey were the three strategic figures in developing Miss Hill's kindergarten outlook; and I count that Miss Hill deserves otherwise practically sole credit for changing the kindergarten from a mysterious cult based on Oken's *Naturphilosophie* to what we know it now to be. I myself saw the shift take place and in a certain theoretical way helped Miss Hill by my book on *Froebel's Kindergarten Principles Critically Examined* (Macmillan 1916), but this came after she had formulated her outlook and served only to demolish the old kindergarten defenders[62]

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[62] *Op. cit.*, Gwinn, p. 162.

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ELLA VICTORIA DOBBS (1866–1952)-
Vision and Practicality:
Teaching and Citizenship

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ella Victoria Dobbs

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ELLA VICTORIA DOBBS (1866-1952)

Vision and Practicality; Teaching and Citizenship

Generalist and Specialist

IN JEFFERSON CITY, THE STATE CAPITAL OF MISSOURI, IS A BRONZE plaque on which the name of Ella Victoria Dobbs is inscribed as one of fifty-five women honored by the state of Missouri for their work in helping achieve woman suffrage. In the social room of Lathrop Hall at University of Missouri, opposite the fireplace, is a portrait of Ella Victoria Dobbs. It represents a tribute paid her by Pi Lambda Theta, the honor society for women which she founded. These two recognitions are symbols of the uniqueness of Ella Victoria Dobbs among childhood educators of her day and of earlier periods. Although passionately dedicated to the education of children, she participated actively in civic affairs and had a concern for the status of women.

In her interest in securing the vote for women and in her activity in many other civic causes, Ella Victoria Dobbs marked a departure from most of the early women leaders in childhood education. Children were these other early leaders' cause. It was not that they were unaware of the economic and political forces that were affecting for good and ill those very children on whom their efforts were concentrated; they were intelligent women and keenly sensitive to their environment. But they never doubted that in focusing on children they were also meeting their responsibilities as citizens.

Not so, Ella Victoria Dobbs. She realized that regardless of how devoted a teacher might be to her calling, she was also an adult in a world of adults as well as of children; as such she must carry the responsibilities of citizenship; moreover, unless she did so, the best interests of children would not be served. Nothing could be ignored; everything that happened in the world affected children. The voice of the teacher must be heard.

Ella Victoria Dobbs also differed from the other leaders of her time in including the upper as well as the lower elementary grades in her work and in her more specialized approach in education. Unlike the others, at no time in her career had she been a kindergartner, her teaching of children being confined to elementary grades in rural schools and mainly primary in city schools. Although always concerned with the total curriculum, she chose industrial arts as her particular field. At the zenith of her professional life she was not the head of a training college as was Elizabeth Harrison or the chairman of a university department of early childhood education as were Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill. Instead, she was a professor and head of a department of manual arts in a university, the University of Missouri.

However, in principle she was at one with all those leaders, wide apart as they may have been in application, in her acceptance of the concepts of *self-activity*, *unity* and *continuity* as fundamental educational principles. With new insights broadened by her participation in a changing world, she made her unique contribution in interpreting and applying these age-old concepts to the education of children.

Though convinced of the soundness of the concept of *self-activity*, Ella Victoria Dobbs was very sure that much was to be learned in its interpretation and application. It was her assumption that constructive use of the hands was one of the most important factors in all human development and it led to her emphasis on the manual arts. As with Elizabeth Harrison, her belief in the need for *unity* among the societal forces interacting with human personality led to her efforts to bring home and school together and to her activity in civic affairs. Like Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill, she strove to bridge the gap between the kindergarten and the grades but went beyond them in her contribution to the curriculum of the upper elementary grades and thus to *continuity* in education through the entire period of childhood.

In her later years Miss Dobbs was often asked why she did not write her autobiography. She always rejected the idea and on one occasion replied, "When one begins looking backward, he ceases to look forward. And I want always to look forward."[1] A biography from which the above quotation is taken and to which the present writer is much indebted is a memorial volume written by Verna M. Wulfekammer, a younger colleague of Miss Dobbs at University of Missouri.

While there is no autobiography, Ella Victoria left four scrapbooks:

Early Life Experiences
A Year in the Limelight
Twenty-five Years at University of Missouri
My Eightieth Year

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[1] Verna M. Wulfekammer, *Ella Victoria Dobbs, a Portrait Biography* (Menasha, Missouri: George Banta Co., Inc., copyright by Pi Lambda Theta, 1961), p. 197.

These, Miss Wulfekammer writes, "reveal her yearnings, her ambitions, her joys and sorrows, and her triumphs."[2]

A Serious Bent in Childhood

ELLA VICTORIA DOBBS, A CONTEMPORARY OF ALICE TEMPLE AND Patty Smith Hill, was born in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, June 11, 1866. She lived to the age of eighty-six, her life extending six years beyond the deaths of Miss Hill and Miss Temple.

On both sides of the family her ancestors had started their American life in Pensylvania prior to the Revolution. Her paternal great-great-great grandmother, Janet Bolton Dobbs, was burned to death in an Indian raid. Her maternal great-great grandmother went from Pennsylvania to Kentucky about Revolutionary War time, where her husband built the first cabin in what is now Louisville. When Kentucky entered the Union as a slave state, the family, ardently anti-slavery, moved to Ohio and were active in assisting fugitive slaves. A daughter, Jane, the mother of Ella Victoria, later moved to Iowa with her husband, James Forsythe, a Presbyterian minister. There were three children of this marriage when the father died. Ella Victoria was the youngest of three children of her mother's second marriage in 1861 to Edward O'Hail Dobbs.

During most of Ella Victoria's childhood her mother was in poor health. At eight came the traumatic experience of her mother's death, five weeks after the accidental death of her half brother. Mary, the eldest of the three Forsythe children, became a "mother" to little Ella Victoria. The devotion of the young chilld to her half sister is shown in a note inscribed in her scrapbook, "My Eightieth Year":

> This is my sister Mary's birthday. Mother willed me to her and she was indeed a kind and judicious mother. It was the common habit in those days when we *kinder* went to play at another home to have the time set to come home. But Mary was wiser. She said, "If you are having a good time, enjoy it but do not stay later than the six o'clock whistle. If you are not having a good time come home as soon as you want to." In this way she taught me to carry responsibility and make my own decisions. This would be her ninety-fifth birthday, but she counted only fifty-nine of them.[3]

Some of the childhood experiences Ella Victoria recalled in later years indicate a serious bent early in life. She told, for instance, of a visit made with her mother to her grandmother's. Part of the trip was through hilly country in a horse-drawn carriage. She spoke of her fear of the high hills, thinking that the horses might slip and the carriage might fall down the hill. But, somehow, as they drove along the hill would disappear. Where had it gone? It was years later when she solved the mystery and, when she had, that long yellow road became a symbol of the tasks that seemed impossible in the beginning but could be mastered little by little in the doing.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. vi.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10.

* The scrapbooks and other personal documents are in the care of Miss Wulfekammer in the weaving room of the Art Department of University of Missouri.

Another childhood recollection was the walk she took from her home across the prairie to spend the night at her Uncle Joe's. A post stood at the corner of the road leading to his house. The way took her through gullies and around curves and from time to time the post was hidden from view. But always it would appear again and helped to keep her in the right direction. This post became a symbol to her of the great objectives in life that can be reached by keeping one's mind on the goal.[4] How strongly these qualities of purpose and persistence characterized her is felt in the name her friends gave her—"Ella Victory!"

Ella Victoria was a pupil in the Cedar Rapids Public Schools. But frequent illnesses made her attendance irregular. Always an avid reader, she filled in many of the gaps in her elementary education through her own efforts. Her teachers frequently asked her to hear the reading assignments of the younger children and this experience made her want to teach, specifically the first grade. All you had to teach were the A B C's and numbers up to 10.[5]

Early Teaching: Emphasis on Manual Arts

ELLA VICTORIA DOBBS HAD A VARIED TEACHING CAREER. HAVING COMpleted high school at eighteen, she taught for a year in a one-room rural school at Silver Ridge, Dixon County, Nebraska. This experience came to an abrupt end after a year when she was called home because of the death of her half sister, Jane, in March 1886. A two-month assignment followed in the summer at Pine Bluff School in Rock Island, Illinois. For the two months' service she was paid thirty-five dollars, the position having been offered to her because she agreed on this wage, whereas her one competitor had asked for eighteen dollars a month. At Pine Bluff she lived in the home of the director of the school board. He was an ardent Methodist, and, though Ella Victoria was a Presbyterian, he persuaded her to teach in his Sunday School. It was soon noised about that the young woman really could teach and on the reputation she was gaining, she was reemployed for an additional three months as well as made superintendent of the Sunday School. But her success took a heavy toll.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Always frail, tramping on the muddy roads in the cold rainy fall weather, she became ill, a victim of tuberculosis.[6]

Again thwarted in her efforts, Ella Victoria returned home to Iowa for an enforced rest. Then occurred one of those events in a life that have consequences reaching far beyond anything conceived at the time. For her it was an invitation from Lillian Throop, her friend, to come to Utah where she hoped that the dry climate might effect a cure. Ella Victoria's acceptance of the invitation was a determining factor in all her future. Miss Throop's optimism about the healthful effects of the dry climate was justified, for Ella Victoria recovered. As soon as she was able, she returned to teaching, first in a two-room school in Salina, Utah, and then in a Mormon mission school in Hyrum, Cache County, Utah. The friendship between Ella Victoria Dobbs and Lillian Throop deepened during those days and continued through life.

Miss Throop was a musician and was appointed as a teacher of music in the Agricultural College at Logan, Utah. Ella Victoria went with her and secured a post as a first-grade teacher in the public schools. Here she met a young instructor who was pioneering at the Agricultural College in a new field of manual training known as sloyd, a Swedish word meaning manual training. It was the acquaintance with the work of this instructor that was the specific stimulus to Ella Victoria Dobbs' lifelong interest in the manual arts.[7]

A growing interest in manual training flourished at this time. Alert to the need for skilled workers as industrial technology was already limiting the opportunities open to unskilled labor, philanthropists like Steve Holcombe in Louisville, Grace Dodge in New York and Phoebe Hearst in San Francisco turned to manual training to help the impoverished become self-supporting. Industrialists encouraged the organization of manual training in high schools as a means of securing better workmanship. The trend had been given increased impetus by the exhibit of sloyd through the products of the Russian manual training schools at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876.

Among those intrigued by the possibilities for America in the Russian exhibit of sloyd was Professor Calvin M. Woodward, at Washington University, St. Louis. Through his efforts sloyd was introduced into the St. Louis Manual Training High School and its program became a model for many vocational high schools in the United States. One of the men trained in St. Louis came to the Agricultural Training College at Logan, Utah, and so Ella Victoria Dobbs became part of this chain of events.

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[7] *Ibid.*, adapted, pp. 28, 29.

At first it would seem a far cry from the kindergarten to the manual training movement. And yet, in origin there is a direct connection. Even more incredible it might seem that Froebel, the father of the kindergarten, inspired the techniques of sloyd. But the fact remains that it was through a visit to Froebel that Cygnaeus, the first director of popular education in Finland, was so impressed with the handwork of the kindergarten children in Froebel's school that he went home and worked out a system of handwork, sloyd, for all the elementary grades. He became a devoted follower of Froebel, though his statement of the purposes of sloyd had nothing of the philosophic overtones so distinctly Froebelian. The Cygnaeus emphasis was on training for skills: the development of the eye, the sense of form and general manual dexterity.

The fame of Cygnaeus spread abroad. It came to the attention of Salomon, a trades teacher in Sweden; and just as Cygnaeus had visited Froebel earlier, now in 1874 Salomon visited Cygnaeus. Salomon was impressed with what he saw, retained the emphasis of the Finnish sloyd on manual dexterity but enlarged the objectives to include the love of work and the development of habits of order, attention and self-reliance. Perhaps more important, Salomon added the making of useful articles to the skill exercises.

It is believed that Della-Vos, a Russian, was also influenced by the work of Cygnaeus. His emphasis, however, was vocational as was the beginning of the movement in the high schools of the United States. Later as the work was introduced into the elementary schools, it took on more the character of the Swedish sloyd. Once again, America had turned to the Old World for its educational innovations.

Noting Ella Victoria's interest in sloyd, her friend Lillian Throop encouraged her to go to Pasadena where she might enroll in the Throop Polytechnic Institute. Again Ella Victoria made an important decision and, on the advice of her friend, left Logan in 1895 to combine primary-school teaching with study at Throop Institute in Pasadena. She was granted a diploma by the Institute in 1900 and a six-year special county certificate by Los Angeles County to teach sloyd and manual training. Following her graduation she became Supervisor of Handwork for Grades Three and Four in Los Angeles. Fortunately for her interests, her experience, and her future professional work, the training that she had at Throop was under Charles A. Kounow, whose acquaintance with sloyd came largely from the Finland-Sweden source dealing mainly with the work for younger children.[*]

In 1902 Ella Victoria Dobbs became a member of the faculty of Throop Institute in complete charge of the manual arts courses in the absence of Professor Chamberlain. From this position she went to Helena, Montana, in 1903 as supervisor of all manual work in the public schools. Her responsibilities involved conducting teachers' institutes and thus she came into the field of teacher education. Many press notices proclaimed the success of her work. One is of particular interest, a report of one of her speeches in the *Montana Daily Record*, September 11, 1903, because as an expression of her point of view at this time it offered a contrast to the approach she was later to evolve:

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[*] *Ibid.*, adapted, pp. 29-38.

> Manual training is not mere making of things beautiful or useful. Were that the case it would become only fancy work. It is not learning a trade which requires the repetition of an exercise for the purpose of acquiring skill until the action becomes to a certain extent automatic. . . . The object is general dexterity rather than skill in any one line. . . . The teacher's great business is character building. Character is made up of habits, and manual training should help greatly in impressing deeply and clearly certain necessary habits. . . . All the work should be correlated as closely as possible with the other work of the school.[9]

Although Ella Victoria Dobbs would go far beyond the Finnish-Swedish goals of her training expressed in the above excerpts, the last sentence already indicates her conviction as to the integral nature of handwork in the total curriculum, a concept which was to dominate the professional work of her maturity.

The Montana experience was stimulating. Not only had children and teachers become enthusiastic about handwork but parents asked for classes so that they might develop the skills that gave so much pleasure to their children. The Helena exhibit won much acclaim at the World's Exposition at St. Louis. With such marked success to her credit, her alma mater invited her to be on its faculty again. She was appointed to the Throop Institute as supervisor of sloyd in the grammar school. In 1906 she was referred to in the *Pasadena Daily* as "the efficient head of the Manual Arts Department both for the grammar grade work and for the Normal students."[10] The comment was evoked by an exhibit of the work of her department.

While others praised her work, Ella Victoria was not so sure about it. Her thinking was taking a different direction from that of her training. Some of this is voiced in a report on the "Exhibits from the Pacific Coast," in which her part had been spoken of so favorably in the *Pasadena Daily*. She wrote:

> In preparing this report my thoughts have followed these divisions, namely, "What have we done, what have we not done, and some things we must do." It would be sufficient perhaps if

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[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 45.

> I were to speak of our achievements only but I believe true progress is attained only through a careful consideration of our failures with their causes, an earnest effort to strengthen every weak point.
>
> You will pardon me if I emphasize the second point. Prominent among the things we have failed to do is the lack of definite purpose and continuity in our course of study. The situation is an inevitable stage in the progress of a new idea which must be experimented upon. Like all new ideas, handwork as an element in education has had a varied career.
>
> So long as Manual Training is regarded as a special subject—a sort of adjunct to the so-called regular work—any attempt at close correlation will be to some degree unsatisfactory. I believe the keynote has been struck by some of our recent writers in the suggestion that handwork be made the central thought in our course of study, and the headwork be such as grows naturally from it. If we begin with what the pupil can do and do well, we shall find no lack of interesting material growing from it to occupy his mind . . . the material used shall be so suited to his constructive ability.
>
> In the days when more handwork was done in the home each member of the family had his part to do and felt the necessity of performing it well.
>
> Is it not possible to build a course of study in Manual Training which shall cover a most definite series of fundamental principles, which shall retain the best of the many good things comprehended in the term sloyd and at the same time be so flexible that it will allow full play for the creative powers of the ingenious boy, awaken a true sense of art, hold in check the impulses of him whose interest is here today and there tomorrow, while it secures at least mechanical proficiency from him whose creative instincts lie too deep for expression?[11]

The above is the expression of a creative mind that no amount of formal training could permanently hold in check. No doubt, too, Ella Victoria Dobbs was being influenced by the new spirit beginning to break through the formalism that had for so long restricted the free development of education. Dewey was experimenting in his laboratory school at the University of Chicago and Colonel Parker in the neighboring Cook County Normal School; Anna E. Bryan and Patty Smith Hill had received wide recognition for their kindergarten reforms in Louisville, and Patty Smith Hill had gone to Teachers College, Columbia University, to continue her search for deeper understanding of children and how they learn. Classrooms in which teachers and children worked together in a new companionship of exploration and discovery were in many places in the United States, from East to West, in private schools and in public school systems. Ella Victoria Dobbs must learn firsthand what it was all about. So in 1907, in the midst of a successful career, she resigned her position at Throop to become a student at Columbia University.

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 46.

Study at Teachers College, Columbia University: Change in Outlook

ELLA VICTORIA DOBBS WAS FORTY-ONE WHEN SHE WAS ADMITTED BY examination to Columbia University. She had had specialized training in sloyd at the Throop Institute, taught in rural one- and two-room schools, in city primary grades, and in a Mormon mission school. These experiences had taken her over a wide geographic area in Nebraska, Illinois, Utah and California. Following these experiences in elementary teaching she had taught manual arts at Throop Institute, both to children and to students preparing to teach. She had supervised the teaching of manual arts in the grades of Los Angeles County, California, and Helena, Montana, and in the latter had taught parents and conducted teachers' institutes. Out of these experiences she had brought an abiding interest in teaching and in children but with it a wholesome dissatisfaction with the rigidity she had seen in elementary education. She was convinced of the significant role of the manual arts in education but she had come to doubt if the sloyd that she had taught was the best possible approach. In short, her mind was set toward becoming a ready and eager participant in the ferment that was making Teachers College, Columbia University, a center of educational innovation.

Ella Victoria was not disappointed. She found in her new environment teachers enthusiastic over the potentials in an education that promised a new release for the creative powers of man.

With her interest in the arts she took all the courses she could with Professor Arthur Dow. To him goes the credit of producing in 1912 *Theory and Practice of Teaching Art* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University), the first textbook for teachers of art education published in the United States. Through his writing and teaching he inspired teachers to view the teaching of art as a means of helping pupils to think, grow, and express their ideas and feelings. Frederick M. Logan said of him:

> His work at Teachers College in New York City from 1904 to 1922 influenced generations of public school art teachers and supervisors. There is little doubt that the art graduates of Teachers College took over the leadership in art education. . . .[12]

In Professor Dow's teaching Ella Victoria found release for her own creativity and ways of releasing it in others. This she had missed in her earlier art experiences.

In two courses she took from John Dewey, she found the greatest challenge to her thinking. She had the satisfaction in his classes of literally hearing a great mind at work as he seemed to be thinking aloud, wrestling with the same problems of life and education with which she had been struggling in solitude.

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[12] Frederick M. Logan, *Growth of Art in American Schools* (N. Y.: Harper and Bros., 1955), p. 109.

Miss Dobbs remained two years at Teachers College, Columbia University. In that time she earned two diplomas and a degree: in 1908 a special diploma in education for teaching manual training in public schools; in 1909 the bachelor's diploma for teaching and supervision and the Bachelor of Science degree.

Immediately after her graduation she went to the University of Missouri on invitation of Professor R. V. Selvidge as instructor of manual arts in the School of Education. The appointment came about through her acquaintance with Professor Selvidge while they both were students at Columbia University. She formed a lasting friendship with the Selvidges, and their home in Columbia, Missouri, became her most intimate visiting place.

Ella Victoria Dobbs' study at Teachers College confirmed the conviction that had been evolving in her thinking during the years of her teaching: *manual arts in the elementary school should be correlated with the other subjects of the curriculum.* Eager to try out her ideas, she enlisted the cooperation of teachers in the Columbia (Missouri) Public Schools in working out projects in which handwork played an important role. She assigned the students in her University classes to observe and participate in this experimentation.

Manual Arts Approaches: Dobbs, Mossman, Bonser

WHEN ELLA VICTORIA DOBBS WAS EXPERIMENTING WITH THE CORrelation of manual arts with other school subjects in Columbia, Missouri, significant developments in industrial arts were taking place at Teachers College, Columbia University. Dean James Earl Russell had made another of his wise appointments in bringing Frederick G. Bonser, an outstanding leader in industrial arts, to the College. Starting as Professor of Education in 1910, he became Chairman of the Industrial Arts Department in 1911, and in the same year he invited Ella Victoria Dobbs to give a summer course in manual arts in his department.

Professor Bonser and Miss Dobbs had much in common in their approach to the manual arts: in their belief in the importance of handwork in all education; in their differentiation between vocational and general education manual arts; in teaching methods of the two types. A basic difference, however, was in their attitudes toward the relationship between subject matter and activity, a difference that was to become a center of controversy among educators in the years ahead.

In developing his ideas Professor Bonser worked closely with Professor Lois Coffey Mossman, who held a similar position in elementary education at Teachers College at about the same time Patty Smith Hill was in early childhood education. The results of Professors Bonser's and Mossman's experimentation and thinking are clearly expressed in their book, *Industrial Arts for Elementary School*,[13] published years later.

Bonser and Mossman defined industrial arts for general educative purposes as "a study of the changes made by man in the form of materials to increase their values and of the problems of life related to these changes." From this position they reasoned that since all men are in one way or another *consumers*, the general educational purposes of the industrial arts should be the helping of pupils better to meet the problems, opportunities and obligations of the consumer as they are met in each major aspect of life: health, economic, social, esthestic and recreational.[14]

Before starting their own curricular approach to the industrial arts, the authors summarized two approaches of others: ease of manipulation of materials at different age levels; experience with different types of materials—food, textile, wood, metal, clay. As against these, Bonser and Mossman, focusing on the *consumer*, would organize the industrial arts curriculum around the *use* of the products of each of the main industries: food, clothing, shelter, utensils, records, tools and machines. Through this organization they believed that pupils could learn, as consumers, how best to supply themselves with each of these seven necessities in meeting their problems, responsibilities and opportunities in the major aspects of living.[15]

The activities that Miss Dobbs had been carrying on for two years in Columbia, Missouri, before her summer in Professor Bonser's department at Teachers College, were often similar to those recommended by Bonser and Mossman. While Miss Dobbs took the curriculum as it generally existed and attempted to give it meaning and enliven it through the industrial arts, Bonser and Mossman proposed a curriculum radically different from the usual one of departmentalized subject matter. It broke through subject matter lines and started with the problems actually met in daily living. The difference is fundamental and the controversies arising from it have not yet been resolved.

The summer was the beginning of a lifelong relationship of mutual respect between Miss Dobbs and Professor Bonser. There is little doubt that she was stimulated by his thinking and that her subsequent work at the University of Missouri was deeply influenced by it.

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[13] Frederick G. Bonser and Lois Coffey Mossman, *Industrial Arts for Elementary Schools* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934).

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-29.

Ella Victoria had looked forward to the summer of 1911, not only for the teaching opportunity it offered but for the possibility of renewing acquaintance with Professor John Dewey. She speaks of this in an article written many years later entitled, "Now It Can Be Told—A High Light." She tells of her disappointment when a schedule conflict made it impossible for her to attend any of Dewey's classes and of a memorable contact with him toward the end of the summer. She tells how she screwed up her courage to go unannounced to his office. Remembering her from her student days, Professor Dewey asked her to tell him about her work in Missouri. He was interested and asked her if she had any photographs of her work that he might use in his classes. She said that she had and would gladly give him some and, better still, she would show him similar work she was developing in her class at Teachers College.

She took him to her classroom where she had examples of her students' work—box playhouses, box stores on a village street, and a sand table farm on which were growing corn, wheat, oats, and where clay animals were grazing in a pasture. Dewey particularly approved of the farm and Ella Victoria proudly quotes him as saying, "I was just going to say that I had been trying to put across some ideas of this sort to my classes but had not made a very great success of it for the lack of a concrete example, and I wonder if you would mind if I sent my class down here to observe." She was obviously so elated that she broke through her reserve in writing about it to say, "We sometimes say 'I went right up through the ceiling' as an attempt to express our state of elation. In this case I'm sure I did not stop at the ceiling but went on through the roof and perched on top of the tallest chimney." They chatted further and then he asked permission to send his class to her room to see her work. After that she had a steady stream of visitors and students told her that Professor Dewey had used the photographs she had given him and quoted her in his classes.

How much this meant to Ella Victoria is expressed in the closing sentence of her article: "And, of course, I could not tell of the incident except to the most intimate few, without seeming egotistical. But now after more than a quarter-century in these intimate papers, it is possible."[16]

So successful was Ella Victoria Dobbs that summer that it might have been the beginning of a satisfying career at Teachers College, Columbia University, at a time an opportunity that many would have regarded as the very pinnacle of professional success. Ella Victoria chose, instead,

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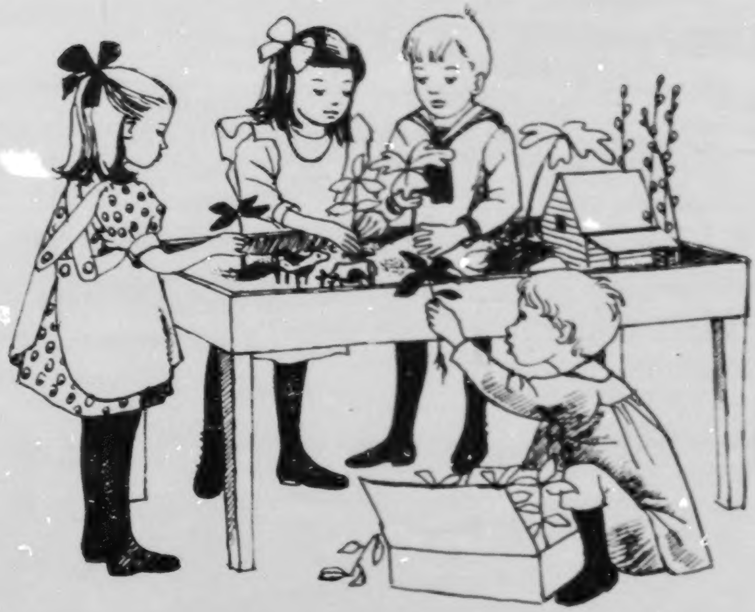
[16] *Op. cit.*, Wulfekammer, pp. 54-56.



"Uncle Jim has lots of trees on his farm."

to return to her post at the University of Missouri. She believed that there she could be of greater service to the Middle West.

At University of Missouri: Teaching and Experimenting

THE NEXT TWENTY-FIVE YEARS EXEMPLIFY IN ELLA VICTORIA'S OWN life the *activity*, the *unity* and the *continuity* at which she aimed in her educational efforts for others. A mature woman in her forties with varied experiences behind her, out of which she had formed her own philosophy of life and education, she found a home-base for her professional activities at the University of Missouri. Here she was to remain until her retirement, winning the respect and admiration of faculty and students as she quietly and steadily gained academic recognition. Beginning as an instructor in 1911, in 1923 she was promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor; in 1930 to Associate Professor; and to a full professorship in 1931. Starting by teaching three obscure courses in applied design and educational handwork for the elementary grades, by 1924 her work had expanded into a complete curriculum as a separate Department of Applied Arts of which she was chairman.

While teaching at the University, the nucleus around which her activities centered, she branched out from her localized professional responsibilities into many areas of community, state and national effort. Believing as she did in cooperative effort, she was a "joiner." With her organizing ability and her skill in dealing with people, she invariably found herself in a position of leadership in every association with which she became allied, whether in her own field of education or in some other. Speaking and writing were inevitable accompaniments of her activities and added to her very full life. But different in variety and scope as were her many projects, there was a relatedness among them. The purpose, the goal and its persistent pursuit, which as a child she had conceived as essential to a good life, had become clearly delineated with the years. A better education for children was her over-all goal toward which she would direct her energies in three specific channels: *one* leading to a more active classroom life through the manual arts; a *second* toward greater continuity as children moved from one maturity level to the next; and the *third* toward a broader outlook and intelligent participation of women teachers in the responsibilities of citizenship.

On her return to the University of Missouri following her summer at Columbia University, Ella Victoria Dobbs went on with her work in much the same way as she had during the two previous years. She taught her courses at the University, using the elementary schools of the town of Columbia as a laboratory both for her own study and research and for the education of the University students. Above all things she was practical. She wanted the students to leave her classes equipped to meet conditions as they were. She had dreams of what she would like education to be, but her responsibility as she saw it was to help these children to a better education *now* in the public schools of the United States. Therefore, she addressed herself to the problem: *To what extent can illustrative handwork be used effectively under ordinary public school conditions?*

On completing the requirements for the bachelor's degree in Industrial Arts at Columbia University, Ella Victoria combined teaching at the University of Missouri with graduate study in elementary education. Her study of the use of handwork in elementary education was accepted as a thesis for the award of an M.A. degree in Elementary Education in 1913. In the next several years Miss Dobbs published two books and two bulletins devoted to the same theme. *Illustrative Handwork for Elementary School Subjects*[17] is the most comprehensive and the most interpretive of the point of view she consistently held throughout her professional life. She summarizes her point of view in the first chapter:

> 1. Handwork is not only a subject to be studied for its own sake but may be a helpful method of studying other subjects. It is not only an end in itself but a means to an end.
> 2. Handwork has two functions:
>   a. The handwork which is general in its application and free in its method without emphasis upon technical processes
>   b. That which is specific and restricted by commonly accepted professional practice.
>
>   (The book is concerned with *a*.)
> 3. It is assumed that handwork can be done without taking undue time, undue expense and can be used profitably as:
>   a. A *method of study* in which children do something they want to do but must study in order to do it
>   b. A *method of recitation* in which children can only make something after they have clearer ideas of the subject.
> 4. Handwork is justified because
>   a. Varying abilities of children require different media of expression since all children are not verbal.
>   b. Concrete illustrations are an aid to clear thinking.
>   c. Handwork causes children to read with more interest.
> 5. Free work should be the emphasis for young children with gradual attention to greater technical control as children grow older.[18]

Ella Victoria Dobbs had gone a long way in her thinking from her sloyd days as expressed in the Montana speech and in resolving the doubts she voiced in her Pasadena report.

Having stated her point of view in the first chapter, in the second Miss Dobbs becomes the experienced craftsman and gives clear and detailed directions for using materials. She groups them under four types of activities: posters, illustrated booklets, sand-table representations and illustrative constructions. The third chapter is equally practical in showing which of these four media are best adapted in enlivening different subject matter fields—geography, history, science, literature. Not only are the activities related to specific subject matter but even some of the better textbooks of the day are mentioned; such as, the Tarr and McMurry geographies, the Carpenter geographical readers.

A list is given of all the projects carried out in the study, while seventeen are reported in detail. The same outline is followed in each of the seventeen:

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[17] Ella Victoria Dobbs, *Illustrative Handwork for Elementary School Subjects* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917).

[18] *Ibid.*, adapted, pp. 2-22.

1. Subject and grade
2. Topic
3. Text
4. Problem of project
5. Problem of pupils
6. Form of illustration (sand table, booklet, etc.)
7. Conditions (size of class, etc.)
8. Time used
9. Organization of class
10. Organization of subject matter
11. Detail of method
12. Correlation

To have secured the cooperation of a group of teachers in developing the carefully worked out projects and their recording is a tribute to the good will and professional spirit of the teachers and to the leadership of Miss Dobbs. And what an introduction her young students were having to the scientific approach, to the investigating spirit, to the need for recording! These were important elements in the professionalization of teaching that Ella Victoria Dobbs did so much to further.

There was no objective evaluation of the results, no control group to check against with standard tests, no proof by scientific measures that the children knew more geographic, historic facts and could spell better than children taught in the traditional way. One wonders how Ella Victoria got by with it! The adding machine had invaded the graduate schools and professional respectability in establishing an educational reputation for sound research was largely a matter of computation of averages, coefficients of correlation, and such matters. Was this another proof of the power of persistence and steadfastness in pursuing a goal that Ella Victoria so consistently demonstrated throughout life? What she had to offer instead of statistical data were the thoughtfully written appraisals of the teachers, their enthusiasm, and the atmosphere of the classroom humming with the busy activity of interested children. Through these she felt that she had proved her hypothesis: that children could learn effectively in the elementary grades when working constructively with materials, and that this could be done in a run-of-the-mill classroom with no appreciable change in the regular course of study and without loss of time or extra expense.

Seven years later Ella Victoria Dobbs drove home the same point through another medium, a reader for children at about a second-grade level. The book, *Our Playhouse,*[19] is a story told by children of the way they had built a playhouse. Step by step, with illustrations, a group of children tell how they planned the playhouse; the materials they used and how they procured them; the trips they took for new ideas; and the problems they had to solve. In a brief statement to teachers at the end of the book, Professor Dobbs tells teachers how the book might be used to supplement similar activities of their pupils, not as a model to imitate, but as a source for comparison and contrast and for the pleasure of identification with book children of similar interests.

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[19] Ella Victoria Dobbs, *Our Playhouse* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1924).

Ella Victoria Dobbs had utilized the natural propensity for children in general to delight in activity and the use of materials in learning the subject matter set out for them. As one studies her writings the question arises as to how much her conservative approach to educational reform was due to her practicality in wanting to take a "next step," one with the best chance of succeeding, and how much it represents her own philosophy. Her discussion of "illustrative handwork," of "a method of study" and a "method of recitation" carry the ring of conviction rather than expediency or compromise. Perhaps even is this truer of the dual objectivity stated in all the projects as "the child's problem" and the "project's problem." Thus in a sixth-grade study of Europe the problem of the project is "to use the preparation of an illustrated booklet as a motive for the study of geography"; the problem of the pupils is "to cooperate with each other in collecting descriptive and illustrative materials upon the various countries of Europe and to write upon one of the countries."[20] In contrast to the duality of aim expressed in the separate objectives, one of the children and the other of the project, says Dewey:

> Schools require their full efficiency, more opportunity for conjoint activities in which those instructed take part, so that they may acquire a *social* sense of their own powers and of the materials and appliances used.[21]

Whatever her underlying philosophy may have been, we know the experimentation of Ella Victoria Dobbs contributed to breaking through the deadly verbalization and monotony of the average elementary school of her day and gave more children a better chance to be actively constructive. It was a forward step in the improvement of education, one that became more easily understood, was to take a stronger hold and for a far longer time than the more radical reforms others proposed in this era.

Taking the long view, Ella Victoria Dobbs' work in teacher education at the University of Missouri should be given first place among her educational achievements. The realism, so fundamental in her character, made it impossible for her to limit teacher education to either theory or skills. She had to try out both principles and methods in the classroom with children. She had her students work right along with her, experimenting, reflecting and drawing conclusions. Thus, they imbued the true scientific spirit and from the beginning of their professional education saw classroom research as an essential part of the teaching process.

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[20] *Op cit.*, Dobbs, *Illustrative Handwork*, p. 150.

[21] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 48.

Added to this, the students had the benefit of participating in the parent-teacher associations which Professor Dobbs, striving for the articulation of home and school, helped to organize in the schools in which she worked with teachers and children. Here, too, the students felt themselves part of a pioneer movement, for the college town of Columbia parent-teacher associations were the first in the state and led to many others and, finally, to a state association.

There was a wholesome earthy quality about Professor Dobbs' teaching. No meaningless verbiage for her; never the substitution of vague words for fuzzy ideas; and always things before words. Lois Knowles, a former student and now a member of the faculty of the University of Missouri, told how Miss Dobbs would counsel students to live their lives by looking at and into things. One day to drive the point home she began a class discussion by being quite critical of a young girl she had observed in a bus so engrossed in a book that she was oblivious to the beauty of the Missouri River she was crossing.[22]

Toward a Wider Outlook for Teachers

BELIEVING IN THE NECESSITY FOR CONTACT WITH THE HUMAN WORLD along with the world of things, Professor Dobbs urged her students to become members of organizations and to attend their meetings. As in all her teaching, she taught by example as well as by precept. Miss Ruth Graham, also a member of the faculty of the University of Missouri who knew Professor Dobbs through Pi Lambda Theta, recalled her answer to a student who explained her intention not to attend an educational conference on the plea of not being able to afford it. "You cannot afford not to attend it," said Professor Dobbs, "and fail to meet the great minds of the day."[23]

This desire for acquaintance with stimulating minds had been characteristic of Ella Victoria Dobbs since her early days. It was this that made her seek membership in so many professional and civic organizations. It was this, too, that sent her at the height of a successful career to seek more knowledge at Columbia University. It was symbolized in a program sponsored in honor of Froebel by the Helena, Montana, Kindergarten Association. Dating back to 1904, the program has been preserved over the years in one of her Scrapbooks. One marvels at the list of speakers that had come together in what was then a very remote Helena. It is a veritable roll-call of the celebrities of the day: Susan E. Blow, Harry Elmer Barnes, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Emilie Poulsson, Elizabeth Harrison, Maud Lindsay![24] This love of the stimulus of mind on mind, so fervid in Ella Victoria, was one of the great gifts she imparted to her students.

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[22] Interview of writer with Miss Lois Knowles, July 1967.

[23] Interview of writer with Miss Ruth Graham, a retired member of the faculty of Christian College, Columbia, Missouri, July 1967.

It was in these early days of combined teaching, experimentation and graduate study that Ella Victoria Dobbs became the leader in the formation of the honor society for women, Pi Lambda Theta. It came about through the interest of Dean William W. Charters of the School of Education at the University of Missouri in founding an honor society as a stimulus to greater professionalization among women teachers. He discussed his ideas with Louise Stanley, assistant professor of Home Economics; Carolina Benton, critic teacher in the practice school; and Ella Victoria Dobbs, instructor and graduate student. The three took on the responsibility of developing the society and, as a first step, selected four outstanding students to help in the initial organization. The work was completed on March 14, 1911, and Alpha Chapter of Pi Lambda Theta came into being with Ella Victoria Dobbs as president, an honor she retained until 1925.

Other universities began forming honor societies among their graduate women students and in 1917 several of them united to form the national Pi Lambda Theta. The group met at the University of Missouri: Alpha, University of Missouri; Beta, Syracuse University; Gamma, University of Kansas; Delta, University of Washington; and Eta, University of Pennsylvania. The meeting with its possibilities for the future of education and for the deeper professionalization of women teachers so moved Ella Victoria that she expressed herself in verse. The following is an excerpt:

> Aloft the torch of learning, to guide the wavering feet,
> Alight to show the zealous where paths of service meet,
> Oh, night of inspiration, how much we owe to thee
> For challenging those founders the broad high road to see![25]

Ella Victoria Dobbs gave devoted service both to Alpha chapter and to the national Pi Lambda Theta. She was president of the latter from 1921 to 1925 and editor of its journal from 1921 to 1933. Her services were appreciatively recognized. In 1923 a scholarship for advanced students in education carrying an annual award of one thousand dollars * was named in her honor, "The Ella Victoria Dobbs Pi Lambda Theta Scholarship." On the twenty-fifth anniversary of her teaching at the University of Missouri, Pi Lambda Theta honored her with a festive garden party. Letters, telegrams and congratulations indicated the warmth and respect with which she was held.

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[24] Helena, Montana, Kindergarten Association program, Scrapbook of Ella Victoria Dobbs (Archives, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri).

[25] Dobbs, Scrapbook.

* *Editor's Note:*
The first scholarship award was given to Agnes Snyder for research on tests and measurement in teacher education, a dissertation carried on at The Johns Hopkins University.

Leadership in National Council of Primary Education

THE EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH WHICH ELLA VICTORIA DOBBS was most actively identified was the National Council of Primary Education. She was a key person in its founding in 1915 and continued to be a key member up to and after its merger with the International Kindergarten Union in the formation of the Association for Childhood Education in 1931. It had long been the dream of kindergarten leaders that the influence of their work might extend into the grades and that better articulation between the kindergarten and the primary grades might be achieved. Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill, in particular, had been tireless in their efforts toward such continuity.

The immediate circumstance leading to the organization of the National Council of Primary Education was correspondence resulting from an article by Marie Anderson (later Mrs. William B. Ittner of St. Louis) in the SCHOOL ARTS MAGAZINE. Ella Victoria Dobbs saw the article and, finding it so much in harmony with her own point of view, sent a note of appreciation to Miss Anderson along with a copy of her newly published book, *Primary Handwork*.[26] Miss Dobbs and Miss Anderson * continued to exchange letters and found themselves agreeing that an organization should be formed which would foster the point of view they both held. They decided to "talk it up." The "talking up" resulted in an informal luncheon meeting on February 22, 1915, in Cincinnati, Ohio, the day before the Department of Superintendence of NEA convened.

Thirty teachers, many more than had been expected, met at that luncheon. Although it was most informal, solid business was transacted. It was decided that there was need for an organization that would:

a. Further the use of activities in the primary school

b. Bridge the gap between the kindergarten and the primary school

c. Cultivate a professional attitude among primary teachers.

With a slight rewording later, these purposes were to become the determining goals to all the activities undertaken by the Council during its existence:

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[26] Ella Victoria Dobbs, *Primary Handwork* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914).

* Interview of writer with Mrs. Ittner, nee Miss Anderson, arranged by Jennie Wahlert, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

a. Greater use of activities in the primary school
b. Greater freedom of method for the teacher
c. Greater continuity of effort through closer cooperation with kindergarten and the grades above.

Besides defining its purposes the group came to the following agreements: that the unanimity of the group justified its forming a preliminary organization; that the organization should be very informal with little administrative machinery; that the luncheon meeting had been most enjoyable and should be repeated; and that the plan should be presented at a meeting held at the time of the summer meeting of NEA to be held in Oakland, California.[27]

As to informality one said, "Let's not have a program—we are programmed to death. Let's *just talk*, and let's meet at ten and have plenty of time."

Ella Victoria Dobbs was chosen to represent the group at the Oakland meeting.[28] Writing years later of her charge to have no set program at the summer meeting, to *just talk*, she confessed her uneasiness:

> It was really with fear and trembling that I carried out their mandate concerning the program. It took almost more courage than I possessed to announce a meeting and a topic for discussion but not mention even one person as a speaker to be printed on an NEA program. . . . However, it was one of the liveliest discussions I ever listened to. The success of that day left the pattern for the rest of the meetings.[29]

About fifty teachers attended the meeting at Oakland. Several of those present went home and immediately organized local branches. Notable among these were a branch organized by a group of Southern teachers in Nashville and one in Chicago organized by Flora J. Cooke who was to become an enthusiastic leader in the Council through the years.[30]

In reading the bulletins of the Council, one is impressed with the fidelity with which it kept to its original purposes and the way in which the determination to rely upon discussion instead of speeches brought the membership into active participation and noteworthy achievement. Through the responsible work of committees and discussion of their findings at annual meetings in the sixteen years of its existence before becoming part of the Association for Childhood Education, the Council published the following bulletins on important current problems:

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[27] Ella Victoria Dobbs, Lucy Gage, Julia L. Hahn, *History of the National Council of Primary Education* (NCPE, 1932) pp. 1, 2.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[29] Handwritten note written by Ella Victoria Dobbs on a typed article by Flora J. Cooke, "Memories of the National Council of Primary Education," undated, probably 1941 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[30] *Op. cit.*, Dobbs, Gage, Hahn, *History*, p. 5.

> *A Study of Typical Daily Programs in Use in Primary Grades*, a two-year study developed by a committee consisting of Annie E. Moore, Chairman, Lillie R. Ernst, Almina George, Marion B. Barbour, Fannie W. Dunn (NCPE Bulletin, no volume or issue number given, February 1921).
>
> *Promotion Requirements in Kindergarten and First Grade*, Mary J. Brady, Chairman, Marion B. Barbour, Edith Barnum, Lillie R. Ernst, Annie E. Moore (NCPE Bulletin, Vol. VII, No. 3, February 1924).
>
> *Furnishings and Equipment of the Primary School*, Abbie Louise Day, Chairman, Gail Calmerton, Mabel C. Bragg (NCPE Bulletin, Vol. VII, No. 3, February 1924).
>
> *Relation of Creative Education to the Science of Education*, Annie E. Moore, Chairman, Minnie Lee Davis, Mathilde C. Gecks, Clara A. Kaps, Lora Peck (NCPE Bulletin, Vol. XII, Supplement to No. 3, April 1929).

As the membership increased, with branches in every state and attendance at the annual meetings running into the thousands, the "just talk" was no longer possible; and in the later meetings presentations by outstanding speakers were made. These speeches with the discussions by the membership were published in the following bulletins:

> *Psychoanalysis in Relation to Education* and *What Is the Problem of Method?* Dr. Max A. Bahr; Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick (NCPE Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 4, April 1926).
>
> *Creative Needs of Young Children and How They Should Be Recognized*, Julia Wade Abbott, Ruth Bristol (NCPE Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 4, April 1928).
>
> *An Activity Program in the Social Studies*. An account of a unified course of study for the kindergarten and first three grades in the San Francisco Schools. Directed and reported by Julia Hahn (NCPE Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No. 1, February 1930).

Like the International Kindergarten Union, the National Council of Primary Education maintained cooperative relations with National Education Association. A bulletin was issued reporting a joint session with the Department of Superintendence of the NEA in February 1931, the last annual meeting of the Council. The two groups came together to discuss a vital issue of the day, "The Training of Teachers for a Progressive Educational Program." Presentations representing divergent approaches were made by these authorities: Dr. Charles H. Judd, Dr. Jesse H. Newlon, Dr. Ernest Horn, Dr. William H. Kilpatrick, Dr. J. Cayce Morrison, Dr. A. L. Threkeld, Dr. Laura Zirbes.

At another session of the same meeting the topic, "Art in the School for the Young Child," was discussed by members of the Council: Winifred Harley, Rebecca Coffin and Mrs. Florence Crane.

Both sessions were reported in full in NCPE Bulletin, Vol. XIV, No. 2, April 1931. Another bulletin issued after the merger of the two associations, IKU and NCPE, dealt with the problem of "Building Readiness for Written Expression." The study was made by Blanche G. Kent under the direction of Dr. Laura Zirbes. The opening paragraph of the foreword conveys the dedication with which the Council had so unswervingly pursued its purposes. But under its dignity of expression, one feels the note of sadness at the closing of a chapter so happily and productively lived:

> At the last official business meeting in Detroit in February 1931, the National Primary Council authorized this study and the publication of the findings in a special bulletin to be financed and distributed by the organization which for sixteen years has fostered progressive practice in the primary grades. Before the National Primary Council loses its separate identity in the Association for Childhood Education when this joint organization meets in Washington in 1932, this bulletin will be circulated to the membership as a final memorial of the fine record of cooperative endeavor which the Council has always fostered. In the interest of a unified program of childhood education the plans for fusion left room for the completion of this study, which combines in an unusual way the interests of the two organizations that will be fused in the Association for Childhood Education.

The report duly appeared as:

> *Building Readiness for Written Expression*, by Blanche G. Kent under the direction of Dr. Laura Zirbes (NCPE Bulletin, no volume or issue number given, June 1931).

Discussion at the meetings never lagged even when the audience extended into the hundreds. Alta V. Adkins, Assistant Superintendent of Hammond, Indiana, who ably served as NCPE executive secretary from 1919 to 1927, wrote of the meetings:

> The procedure of the meetings was always social-serious, that teachers might become acquainted with, like, and help each other, and the children under their care. They met informally, played, laughed, and sang together, liked it, and continued to meet. . . . Half of each meeting was always pure fun. The other half was spent in informal discussion of children's rights, the value of freedom to them, and the school activities that would develop them. Occasionally a leader from another city would address the group, but not often for such things would tend to formalize the meetings. The first great objective was to free the children and teachers from rigidity, the rigidity of screwed-down seats, meaningless and rigid "busy-work" and static daily programs that permitted no deviation.[31]

Reports of the meetings in the bulletins give evidence that this serious-minded group kept their sense of humor—even cropping out in discussions of studies they so diligently made. Thus Lillie Ernst of St. Louis, in giving the results of a study she and her committee had made of

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[31] Alta V. Adkins, "A Thrilling Equation CTI + NCPE: Child Plus Teacher Plus Inspiration Equals NCPE." Typed Manuscript, undated (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D.C.).

"Promotion Requirements for Kindergarten and First Grade," quoted the following from a report card addressed to children:

> You are ready for the 1A when you are spending 60 minutes a day on your reading; when you know at sight 200 words from your lists; when you can use any of the 200 words in short sentences; when you can read *Child's World* and *Free and Treadwell Primers;* when you can read ten pages of any supplementary primer; when you can read the sentence as a whole and not word by word; when you can read silently and interpret a sentence unit as, "Bring me a book." [32]

Phonics as a criterion for promotion evidently was widely used. After giving the statistical results and some of the content and methodology used by Miss Ernst, it closes with:

> If by any chance you can have some primary teacher make a full list of 30 blends and you happen to be rooming with somebody tonight will you try them on each other? We tried them on Miss Dobbs last night, and you should have been with us! [33]

Yes, Miss Dobbs could join in such fun, and without ever losing her innate dignity. She had that rare quality of leadership that makes it possible to be one with a group without loss of authority. Part of the secret of her success may well have been her indifference to the limelight. One is impressed in reading the minutes of the ten years of her presidency of the Council from 1915 to 1925 and to note how seldom she injected her own opinions into the group discussions. Quietly she stimulated others to self-expression.

This characteristic, both of her teaching and her organization work, was a matter of frequent comment. One of her younger co-workers, Mrs. Martin L. Faust, wrote:

> I remember how calmly Miss Dobbs talked; one could say about her what has been said of General Norstead, calm in discussion and never arouses the almost automatic hostility that results from too much intensity by a person trying to make a point.[34]

Just the names of those serving on committees, all of whom contributed substantially in many parts of the country to the progress of education, are proof not only of their own worth but of the stimulus of Ella Victoria's leadership in the Council. Flora J. Cooke, the stalwart associate of Colonel Francis Parker in his experimentation, expressed it well:

> I believe that most of the early group of teachers would give credit for leadership in the formation of the Council to the

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[32] *Promotion Requirements for Kindergarten and First Grade* (NCPE Bulletin, Vol. VII, No. 3, Feb. 1924), p. 10.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[34] Excerpt of letter from Mrs. Martin L. Faust, Columbia, Missouri, to writer, March 27, 1968.

> dynamic leadership of Ella Victoria Dobbs. No obstacle was too great for her determination to surmont. . . . It was not without cause that she was reelected president of the organization for ten of its sixteen years of independent existence. The honor was well earned by her vision, courage, and hard work which made her always take the heavy end of the log.[35]

Experimental in outlook herself, Ella Victoria Dobbs' influence no doubt had much to do with the emphasis on research by the Council. Committees continuously existed, each one for a period of two years, to produce research in the following areas:

- Organization of subject-matter and method
- Books, including texts, supplementary readers, teachers' helps, etc.
- Furnishings and equipment
- Tests and measurements

Probably the most outstanding piece of research, because of the fundamental problem it attacked, its workmanship and the further study it spurred, was "A Study of Typical Daily Programs in Use in Primary Grades," by the committee chaired by Annie E. Moore. It was one of the two-year studies characteristic of the Council's procedures in getting jobs done.

In the first year the object was to find out the amount of free activity on the part of the children—times when the children were not definitely directed by teachers—and the kinds of materials used. For this purpose twelve schools were selected from coast to coast. They included a first grade in a public school with a flexible program; a primary grade in an experimental demonstration school; a primary grade in a city school of a most formal type; an old-fashioned rural school; a progressive rural school; a primary grade in a middle-of-the-road city school.

As was to be expected, the practice varied from utmost formality to extreme freedom, from two schools in which there was not a single moment when the children were on their own, able to exercise any initiative, to one in which forty-one percent of the children's time was free from teacher direction. Similarly, the environment varied from bare ugly rooms with nothing but desks, books, paper and pencils to rooms equipped with a wealth of material and ideal school furniture. This part of the study was fact finding; the report included detailed observations of the classroom settings and what actually occurred.[36]

During the second year the committee attempted to have observations made in a variety of schools organized and equipped in a liberal way.

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[35] Flora J. Cooke, "Memories of the National Council of Primary Education," Manuscript, 1941 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[36] *A Study of Typical Daily Programs in Use in Primary Grades* (NCPE Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 3, Feb. 1921), pp. 5-9.

Seventeen descriptive accounts were submitted, out of which the committee accepted the eight or nine which they considered to represent the best practice. These they found to have the following characteristics in common:

> A flexible grouping of children partly worked out by the teacher and partly dependent upon the children's own organization of their work and play
>
> A variety of material which lends itself to constructive and creative work such as blocks, textile materials, clay, wood, paper, cardboard, paint, crayons, and suitable tools; the children to have easy access to all of these
>
> Freedom from unnatural, unnecessary restraint and from formal dictated teacher control so that pupils may carry out more individual and group projects
>
> A generous collection of the best text books, literary wholes and picture books obtainable, to which children may have easy access, with much encouragement for liberal and independent use
>
> The intelligent and determined subordination of formal drill in the mechanics of reading, arithmetic, etc. to intrinsically worthwhile undertakings initiated by children or teacher, or evolved by the entire group including the teacher.[37]

Like Ella Victoria Dobbs at the University of Missouri, Annie E. Moore at Teachers College, Columbia University, based her teaching on continuous observation and experimentation. In 1925 she published her book, *The Primary School, the Improvement of Its Organization and Instruction.* In it she brings together the results of her committee work in the National Council of Primary Education, her own teaching and the many studies made by herself and her students. It is an out-and-out stand for the kind of classroom that would embody the five characteristics her Council study concluded as right for children. But she went further in declaring her faith in a curriculum that would

> draw upon all the empirical knowledge concerning childhood derived from accumulated human experience and upon the very considerable scientific data furnished by psychologists, physicians, and specialists in social science.[38]

In her conviction that the curriculum could and should be developed from the observed activities and questions of children—their play, hobbies, social intercourse with their peers—Annie E. Moore was one of the minority among even the liberal educators of the day. For them and for her, it was not the enlivening of a preconceived curriculum by activities but a curriculum growing out of the activities of children. In this Annie E. Moore differed from Ella Victoria Dobbs and, on a different plane, from Bonser and Mossman. She came closer to Dewey's basic idea of curriculum than any of the three.

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[37] *Ibid.*, NCPE Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 44.

[38] Annie E. Moore, *The Primary School, the Improvement of Its Organization and Instruction* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), p. 1.

After mentioning the many signs of constructive work seen in classrooms—farms, miniature cities, grocery stores and such, she states:

> To the extent that these schemes are the children's own either by reason of their suggestion or by willing and eager adoption at the suggestion of another . . . they are children's projects; . . . to the extent that the scheme is simply an ingenious carrier for less interesting matter, introduced to lighten a dull routine—it is no true child's project or problem whatever it may be called.[39]

She goes on to speak of the latter as "pseudo-projects." Often with an almost acid sharpness she reveals the formalism into which many well-intentioned reforms were already degenerating. Always keeping close to the classroom she was able to make her point through apt illustration, as in a chapter on "A Socialized Recitation." Here she describes a so-called "socialized recitation" in which a child leader conducts a lesson on *Alice in Wonderland*. The leader calls on the children to read, asks what words mean, calls attention to mispronunciations and other errors. For example.

> James: Daniel, what does *executed* mean?
>
> Daniel: To be killed.
>
> Grace: Did you notice that *can* is printed in italics? Will you please read that sentence again?
>
> Morris: Louise, will you look at that last sentence again. You left out the word *had*.
>
> Louise: Did I? I'll read it again.[40]

Professors Bonser and Mossman began with the problems of living and had children engage in relevant activities suitable to their maturity; Ella Victoria Dobbs began with conventional subject matter and gave it reality through child activities; Annie E. Moore began with the spontaneous activities of children and expanded these through related subject matter and widened experiences—these were types of the experimental approaches of the day toward better education for children.

A matter of particular concern was the relation of the three R's to project teaching. Divergent viewpoints were brought into sharp focus at a meeting of the Primary Council in Chicago at the session of February 26, 1924. The program centered around contrasting presentations of procedures at the Francis Parker School and the Winnetka, Illinois, Public Schools.

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[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 69.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-113.

Miss Enoch of the Francis Parker School gave a detailed account of her second-grade project in chicken-raising, illustrated with films. She showed how oral and written language, spelling, reading and arithmetic, as well as scientific facts were learned because they were indispensable in carrying out the many different kinds of activities involved in the total project.

Superintendent Carleton Washburne of Winnetka agreed on the value of such projects but took issue with the claim that the tool subjects could or should be taught as needed in the activities. Instead, he made a case for their separate mastery so that they would be ready for use when needed in activities. He made a distinction between the social learnings of the project and the individual learnings necessitated by the wide range of abilities of children in speed and quality in achieving skills.

Mrs. Stokes, a second-grade teacher in Winnetka, illustrated with an account of her experiences in teaching reading. She had tried a number of ways to meet the individual needs of the children before arriving at the one she was presently using. In brief, she started by dividing the class into three groups according to reading ability and selected a different set of books for each group. She helped the children individually, they read to her as they finished sections, she tested them for comprehension. Soon the group organization disappeared, for as the children finished the book with which their group had started, they were free to choose their own books. As a result, in the course of the current year the number of books read by the class varied from two by the slowest reader to twenty by the fastest.

The speakers were questioned vigorously on the nature of the total class day, methods of evaluating, whether or not there was a course of study to follow, the use of phonics, and many other procedural details. While Mrs. Stokes gave specific answers to all the questions, Miss Enoch pictured the on-going process of the day, disclaimed the use of formal testing, said that the children read for information, pleasure, and to each other and was sure that no child could read as many as twenty books because they were too busy with other things.

Miss Gage, Miss Temple, Miss Dobbs, and Miss Cooke steered the discussion toward the main issues involved: Is the project a means to an end or an end in itself? Can the tool subjects be taught through projects or is additional work necessary separate from the projects? What is meant by "social"? When the discussion reached this level there was real soul-searching. It was obvious that there was a strong leaning toward reliance on the project, the creative, the constructive. But—dared they swing so far from the traditional?

The climax was reached when Lily Ernst pleaded with the group to look beneath the surface to what was happening inside the children—the feelings toward what they were doing:

> I hope that this discussion will make us become a great deal clearer as to the child's position in this game of schooling. . . . Raising chickens or any other project could be social or unsocial; so could reading a book. . .
>
> In a long, continuous project such as animal raising it is possible that you may have a child who in his selection and his reasons for selection may be as miserably unsocial as a child can be. . . . The child reading a mass of books is unsocial if he is not getting thrills out of what he is reading. . . if he is not becoming conscious that every day's effort that he is putting forth to become more skillful makes him able to help some one else. . . .
>
> We must make it dramatically clear, pictorially clear as to the activity in which the child is socially purposed and the activity in which he is unsocially purposed. . .

At one point Lily Ernst quoted from Vachel Lindsay, saying that she wished the lines might be printed on every piece of literature the Primary Council sends out:

> It is the world's one crime
> Its babes grow dull,
> Its poor are oxlike, limp and leaden-eyed.
> Not that they starve, but starve so dreamlessly,
> Not that they sow, but that they seldom reap,
> Not that they serve, but have no gods to serve,
> Not that they die but that they die like sheep.*

In every age there are a few who see beyond the deed to the meaning of the deed. Often, like Lily Ernst, they live close to nature and love all growing things. Perhaps it is thus they draw their strength, their insight.[41]

It was as natural that variations should exist in the new education as it was for the Renaissance to branch out into its many creative fields in the arts and sciences or for the Protestant Reformation to give rise to a proliferation of sects. In a way the educational reforms of the twentieth century were part of the continuum of history, for these like those of the Renaissance and the Reformation were fundamentally a break from the control of tradition, the stirring of the soul of man for fulfillment through the freeing of his mind and spirit.

As always, education followed in the path of other social upheavals, going its accustomed way until some mutant force breaks the bonds of custom. In this early twentieth century the force was the free soil of America rich enough to produce an indigenous philosophy and psychology to challenge teachers.

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[41] The summary of the Council meeting is based upon an eighty-five-page typewritten stenographic report contributed by Jennie Wahlert to the Association for Childhood Education International Archives.

* Vachel Lindsay, *Collected Poems* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930) pp. 69, 70.

In the excitement over new ideas, the journals and even the popular press carrying accounts of this or that new venture in education, Ella Victoria Dobbs served as a balance wheel. Continuously in the Council and in her classes she encouraged teachers to study conditions, to experiment, to draw their own conclusions, not to be afraid to disagree.

Like all who are imbued with the scientific approach to life, success merely opened up to Ella Victoria Dobbs new problems still to be solved. That this was a deeply engrained part of her character was evident in her early teaching days when, for example, in her report on the much-praised West Coast manual arts exhibit she counselled teachers to dwell "not on what we have done," but "on what we have not done and still have to do." Again this note was sounded in 1922 when in her customary New Year's message to the National Council of Primary Education she congratulated the Council on its accomplishments —disappearance of stiff little seats, more materials, better cooperation, greater appreciation by parents—and then adds, "But we must not forget that still there are thousands of little prisoners who must sit in position in uncomfortable seats and pay attention to uninteresting lesson books.[42]

Woman Suffrage Association; League of Women Voters

FOR THE CONTRIBUTION SHE MADE IN DIGNIFYING THE STATUS OF women as citizens, Ella Victoria Dobbs is due a unique place among the women leaders in childhood education. To her, women as well as men were "endowed with certain inalienable rights." She not only believed this but acted upon her conviction.

Soon after joining the faculty of the University of Missouri, Miss Dobbs entered vigorously into the development of the Columbia Equal Suffrage Association. In a conversation with Mrs. Faust, Miss Dobbs spoke of an incident that triggered her into action. It was a discussion that she happened upon in a University hall between a professor of philosophy and a Negro janitor. They were earnestly considering between them whether or not women should be *given* the right to vote. There was something in the attitude, the implied superiority of the two men that, Ella Victoria Dobbs said, "got my dander up." "Any matters of concern to women should be discussed by women," said she.[43]

The first years of University teaching are arduous at best. They were particularly so for women in Miss Dobbs' day, especially in her case; she needed to combine study for an advance degree with her teaching.

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[42] NCPE Leaflet, January 1922 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington, D. C.).

[43] *Op. cit.*, Letter from Mrs. Faust to writer.

But here, as in all her professional career, she showed unusual ability not only in relating different activities but in having them reinforce each other. The minutes of the Columbia Equal Suffrage Association exemplify this. After serving on the first Executive Committee in 1912-13 and 1914-15 and on the nominating committee in 1912-13, she was one of a group of three in 1914 to organize a College Equal Suffrage League.[44]

Ella Victoria Dobbs is frequently mentioned thoughout the minutes of the Columbia Equal Suffrage Association. One of particular interest tells of her being sent as a delegate of the Columbia Association to the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association held in St. Louis, March 28-29, 1919.[45] This was the fiftieth and last active convention of the Association. Victory was just around the corner. Delegates from fifteen states in which women already had the vote were present; Congress was almost won over; and President Woodrow Wilson sent a message to the convention assuring the members of his support. By June fourth when the nineteenth amendment had been passed by both Houses of Congress, women already had the vote in twenty-nine states. The crusade fought so valiantly since 1869 was over. Only ratification by the states remained and this, too, would soon be won.

Now a big job of education lay ahead. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt came prepared for it, and in her opening address outlined her plan for a new organization, the League of Women Voters. The League would promote voter education on national and local issues.[46] Miss Dobbs remained in St. Louis for a meeting of the Missouri Suffrage group and upon her return to Columbia began working on a local branch of the new League.

Her first efforts, again exemplifying her characteristic tendency to center her varied activities around a major interest, began as early as 1919 as a member of the Education Committee of the League. She was instrumental in opening a Citizenship School in November of that year, continuing for twelve meetings on Mondays and Thursdays. The minutes of December eleventh give a report from Miss Dobbs stating that the school was well attended and considered helpful; that another would be held after the holidays for mothers with children attending school; that the plans for the latter would be guided by the questions raised by members attending the first session; and that the most progressive methods and data should be obtained from other towns about the same size as Columbia.

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[44] Minutes Book of the Columbia Equal Suffrage Association. Collected by Mrs. Robert F. G. Spier, President, League of Women Voters, of Columbia-Boone County (Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri Library, Columbia, Missouri).

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] G. Allen Foster, *Votes for Women* (New York: Criterion Books, 1966), pp. 177-183.

The readiness to learn from others, shown in the last suggestion and again characteristic throughout Miss Dobbs' professional career, appears a number of times in the minutes. For example, in those of February 24, 1926, "Miss E. V. Dobbs described a cooperative community school in Pasadena, California, where women are taught to sew on their own material for their own use or for the Woman's Exchange." A modification of this suggestion is seen in a newspaper clipping in May 1926, reporting plans made by the project committee of the League of Women Voters for a vacation sewing school for Columbia girls between eight and fourteen years of age. A pencilled marginal note states, "Miss Dobbs gave money." Here, too, another of Miss Dobbs' abiding interest, the crafts, is being utilized in another setting.

Frequent references in the minutes are made to speeches given to the League by Ella Victoria Dobbs:

> *July 8, 1925.* The principal feature of the meeting was a talk by Miss Dobbs on the outstanding events of the convention at Indianapolis of the National Education Association on interpreting the schools to the public. She also gave a resume of an address by Glenn Frank on the relationship between the press and the public.
>
> *January 27, 1926:* Miss Ella V. Dobbs' paper on World Education for International Friendliness was an inspiring and sympathetic discussion of the power of education in uprooting prejudice and intolerance and the value of such agencies as the Junior Red Cross, International Association of Teachers, and International Conferences on Education in promoting international mindedness and world peace.
>
> *January 11, 1928:* Miss Dobbs gave a talk on "What Does Equalization of Taxation Involve?" She brought out that free education is offered to our people—but not equal. Among the unequal factors are:
>
> Length of term varies from 3 to 10 months
> Size of class from less than 10 to 29
> Varied amount of experience of teacher
> Difference in equipment
>
> She concluded that the whole question is economic.
>
> *May 23, 1928:* Miss Dobbs reported on the State Convention of the League held in St. Louis. She spoke particularly of the round table on International Relations. Miss Dobbs gave to the League the ten dollars which she won for submitting the best slogan for getting our votes: Votes Count—Do You?[47]

While Ella Victoria Dobbs was concerned that all women should have broader lives, as an educator she strove in particular that teachers should realize their special responsibilities as citizens. Dedication to children, in itself, was not enough. She knew that unless teachers made their voices heard politically they could well have their classroom efforts for children defeated by a degenerating physical, social and economic environment. Miss Dobbs expressed this in a leaflet addressed to the members of the National Council of Primary Education when at the close of World War I the first bill was introduced into Congress. It called for the appointment of a Secretary of Education with a place in the President's Cabinet and for an appropriation to reduce the inequalities of educational opportunity among the states. Not one ever to court popularity, after describing the bill, she did not hesitate to excoriate teachers for their share of blame for the low regard in which education was so widely held. She closed her statement with:

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[47] Minutes, League of Women Voters of Columbia-Boone County, Missouri. Selected and sent to writer by Mrs. Robert F. G. Spier, Columbia, Missouri.

> Teachers are, however, partially responsible for the present unhappy state of affairs. They are responsible in so far as they have confined their energies wholly to actual class-room processes and have failed to use all the influence they could command to educate the public to a full appreciation of the importance of education and the progress in educational methods and standards.[48]

One can well imagine the fervor with which Ella Victoria Dobbs made the following appeal to the National Council of Primary Education after Congress had passed the Nineteenth Amendment:

> Teachers have long been too easily satisfied with doing well their duty within the school room and have forgotten their responsibility for the formation of public opinion. The schools will never be better than the people want them. It is, therefore, our duty to help make the people want better schools just as we try to help Johnny want to be a good boy. It is also in line with this argument to remind women teachers that a new role for controlling this situation will be given to many of us with the ratification of the Suffrage Amendment. Whatever may have been our attitude upon this question while it was pending there is no question as to our duty to use this newly acquired power wisely for the advancement of education.[49]

It was this zeal for a broader life for women teachers that gave her real pleasure in being elected president of the Missouri State Teachers Association in 1925. This gave her additional opportunity to that of the League of Women Voters, Pi Lambda Theta and Delta Kappa Gamma to work on state legislative programs for the betterment of women teachers, the improvement of schools and education in general.[50]

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[48] NCPE Leaflet, January 1919, p. 3.

[49] NCPE Leaflet, January 1920, p. 3.

[50] *Op. cit.*, Wulfekammer, pp. 153-155.

Interest Continues During Retirement

Ella Victoria Dobbs retired from the University of Missouri in 1936 and was honored with the title of Professor Emeritus of Applied Arts. Her acknowledgment of this distinction to President F. A. Middlebush is characteristic of her empathy with women teachers:

> I count it not only a stamp of approval on my years of service, but I value it especially as a recognition of the whole body of women in their efforts to serve the common good.[51]

Until a few months before her death Ella Victoria Dobbs was in good health and continued active in civic and educational affairs. In 1940 she attended the Women's Centennial Congress in New York City where she was honored as one of 100 women successful in careers not open to women in 1840. Her last trip out of Columbia was in 1942 to attend a meeting of Association for Childhood Education in Buffalo.[52]

As travel became more difficult for her—she lived to be eighty-six—she used the telephone, not only to keep in touch with personal friends but as a means of keeping abreast of educational and world affairs. Mr. Everett Keith, Executive Secretary of the Missouri State Teachers Association, whose office was and is on the University campus, was one whom she found particularly knowledgable and sympathetic in her fields of interest. Mr. Keith said that he had long phone discussions with her, "And always," he said, "she never faltered in her belief that the solution of the world's problems lay in education."[53]

At home she continued her interest in crafts, particularly in weaving and toy-making. Her ten-harness loom yielded many gifts for her friends. Her last completed book, *First Steps in Weaving*, was written during the first two years of her retirement. It aims successfully to impart the art to beginners, "assuming nothing," as she says in her preface. Simply written and illustrated with many clear line drawings, it is far more than a mere how-to-do-it book. One of its values is its historic treatment from the first weaving by interlacing branches of trees to today's highly developed mechanization of the craft. Feeling as well as knowledge is imparted in its pages as when she quotes an old weaver as saying, "It isn't so much that you weave as what weaving does to you," and adds her comment that this "epitomizes what is meant by creative expression as an educational factor."[54]

Mrs. Faust called on Miss Dobbs in her apartment while she was working on this book and was shown the beautiful drawings a friend had made as illustrations. All of them were of things children could not only make but use. Miss Dobbs brought out a chest of drawers made of match boxes and recalled the joy of a little boy who had made it long ago when he looked up at her and said, "It works." Mrs. Faust said that she recalled the joy in Miss Dobbs' voice when she said how much children loved making something that works.[58]

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[51] *Ibid.*, Wulfekammer, pp. 196, 197.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 201.
[53] Interview of writer with Mr. Keith, July 1967.
[54] Ella Victoria Dobbs, *First Steps in Weaving* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1938), p. 80.

The Scrapbooks in the weaving room at the University of Missouri express her broad interests and her deep human sympathy that could both encompass world events and identify with the thought and feeling of individuals. Little organization exists in the Scrapbooks; instead, events great and small, as they occurred in daily living, find themselves next to each other on the pages. Newspaper clippings, a favorite poem brought to mind by some happening, verses of her own, programs of significance and sometimes ones in which she participated, obituaries of friends, anecdotes—these vividly reflect the abundance of her living.

Deeply moved by the catastrophe of World War II, she preserved numerous newspaper clippings. A page from *Congressional Record* gives the VE Day address by Hon. Clarence Cannon of Missouri on May 16, 1945. When the bomb fell on Hiroshima she wrote her own thoughts: "This day seems destined to be one of the historic days of world history . . . tonight in large headlines the papers herald, 'ATOMIC BOMB HITS JAPAN'." Then she quoted President Truman: "The atomic bomb is a harnessing of the basic power of the Universe; the force from which the sun draws its power has been loosed against those who brought war into the Far East." She concluded with an expression of her own indomitable faith and hope that "the tremendous power may help to end war, that it be a vital force in our plans for world peace, and that we may learn to use it for life, not death." As a haunting echo from another decade, from another war, a war that was to end all wars, she inscribed the poem, "Flanders Field."

While world events are richly chronicled in the Scrapbooks, they are balanced by items on individuals, many of them her contemporaries and fellow workers in the interest of children. Flora Cooke appears often in news items reporting speeches she made. One that Ella Victoria probably entered with particular pleasure tells of the fearless challenge Flora Cooke gave to Senator Bilbo when he attempted by filibuster to defeat the Fair Employment Act. And one can fancy her chuckle when she posted the following quote from a speech made by her friend, Lucy Gage:

[58] *Op. cit.*, Letter from Mrs. Faust to writer.

> Teachers can marry, but they won't. They fall in love with their work and don't feel the need of the love of a man. Their maternal instincts are satisfied. But marriage is the greatest thing in the world, and all teachers should take advantage of the opportunity to marry. They are often held back by economic reasons.

And Ella Victoria and Lucy were both spinsters—as were almost all of their fellow-women leaders in education of their day.

There are many obituaries in the Scrapbooks, particularly in the later years. Living far into her eighties, she experienced the sadness of loss of old friends, often of those younger than herself. She preserved not only death notices but the tributes paid to the deceased. One of Lillie Ernst, on December 6, 1943, with whom she had shared so many labors in National Council of Primary Education, tells of her love of the out-of-doors, of all nature and particularly of birds. In their love of the natural world, the two were kindred spirits.

Many tributes were in the Scrapbooks to Professor R. V. Selvedge at the time of his death. The friendship of Ella Victoria Dobbs and R. V. Selvedge began as fellow students at Columbia University and continued during their years as co-workers at the University of Missouri. A strong bond was formed between them that was extended to include all of his family. It was obvious from the entries in the Scrapbooks that Ella Victoria felt his loss deeply.

Under her austerity was a lighter side to Ella Victoria Dobbs, and this, too, has a place in the Scrapbooks. On one page, for example, she quoted Robert Louis Stevenson:

> The world is so full of a number of things
> I'm sure we should all be as happy as kings.

Beneath it she added a modern quip:

> Uneasy lie the heads of all who rule—
> Those worst of all whose kingdom is a school.

Under this is her comment, "All I have to say to him is, 'Ain't so!' "

Like many ardent natures combining strong feeling with reserve, Ella Victoria Dobbs found an outlet in verse; many examples are scattered through the Scrapbooks. Just one example, "The Columns," will be quoted here. As one enters the campus these columns immediately command the eye. They had remained standing when the rest of the building was burned. When the new administration building was erected, the columns were preserved, not as part of the new structure but standing away some distance in front of it.

The Columns

Stately and tall in the early morning light,
Grandly you rise in your stern majestic height,
Linking each day to the wealth of ages long—
O Columns, well beloved, we greet you with a song.

Old Columns! Dear Columns!
As the ivy clings to you,
So clings our love to Alma Mater,
"Old Mizzoo."

Staunchly you 'bide thru the noontide's burning sun,
Bidding us strive till the victor's crown be won,
Unflinching still, tho' the stormy winds may blow—
The thought of you still gives us strength where'er we go.

Chorus

Calmly you rest in the peaceful twilight hour,
Filling our souls with a consciousness of power,
Healing the wounds that life's struggles oft impart—
Your restfulness a benediction on each heart.

Chorus

Ella Victoria Dobbs

Jennie Wahlert[*] received a copy of the poem from Ella Victoria Dobbs, on the back of which was written the following note:

> Years ago a group of us were near our famous Columns talking with Pater Curtis as we called the father of the Dean when he expressed surprise that there was no song to the Columns.
>
> His comment impressed me, and that night the lines here quoted kept me awake till 4:00 a.m. Since then they have been hidden away in a scrap book.
>
> I hope someone will write us a tune that we can sing together "to the Columns."

Ella Victoria Dobbs was a teacher, an educational writer, a craftsman, an administrator, an organization worker. In education, while she was committed to the new viewpoint of her day, she attempted no revolution; instead, she took what she believed to be the next possible step in a more active, more creative life for children. She did not abandon traditional subject matter as found in the better curriculum guides of the day but sought to enliven it by concrete, constructive activities. So well did she demonstrate this approach in the classroom, so open-mindedly did she work toward improving her methods, and so ably did she commit her findings to writing that what she has taught has persisted beyond many of the more fundamental curriculum proposals of her day.

Besides extending a good school life for children and including older children who previously had not been the concern of the leaders presented in this volume, Ella Victoria Dobbs was outstanding in her broader interpretation of the role of the teacher. First, the teacher should be an experimenter, one who by his scientific approach to the problems of education could himself contribute to greater knowledge of children and improved methods of teaching. Second, the teacher is a citizen—including women teachers—and must exercise the responsibilities of citizenship, attacking all forces inimical to a good life and identifying with those constructively working for a better society.

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[*] Jennie Wahlert, a past leader in early childhood education in St. Louis and a member of the ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee.

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LUCY GAGE (1876-1945)
Pioneering Through Life

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Lucy Gage

11

LUCY GAGE (1876-1945)
Pioneering Through Life

Impact of a Powerful and Generous Personality

WHY WAS LUCY GAGE ONE OF THE MOST WIDELY ACKNOWLEDGED leaders of her time in the education of children? The answer is not found primarily in organization work, committee work and offices held in both International Kindergarten Union and National Council of Primary Education, as well as membership on the Board of Progressive Education Association and in a variety of social and civic groups. These all attest to her group consciousness and responsibility. But, impressive as was her participation, organizations were not her best avenue of expression.

Nor did publication play a large role in her influence. In the library at George Peabody College is much material which Lucy Gage gave to her friend, John Stevens, shortly before her death. It is rich in notes for articles and lectures, including a complete outline for a book partially written and a miscellany of scattered ideas. All reveal the originality and vigor of her thinking, often with an intriguing turn of expression that might have made her a successful writer. Aside from several excellent journal articles and a primer and first reader of unusual insight into the needs of children, writings did not reach the publication stage.

No, Lucy Gage's influence was not exerted mainly either through organizations or through writing. The answer to her influence is found in Lucy Gage herself, in what she was. For Lucy Gage was one of those rare individuals who had achieved such unity of thinking, feeling and action that a contact with another makes so powerful an impact that it extends far beyond the immediate incident.

The present writer felt the strength of Lucy Gage's personality during a visit to George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, in July 1967. Here Lucy Gage spent her mature teaching years, twenty-two in all, from 1920 to her retirement in 1942. Though long ago as these years were, there were still those on the campus who had been her colleagues and some, once her students, were now on the faculty. The mention of her name brought remarkably similar responses from men and women, faculty members from other departments as well as her own, and from former students. First there would be a warm reminiscent smile; then a thoughtful look and adjectives—real, generous, genuine, vigorous, courageous, fearless, forthright, human.

Almost all asked, "Have you heard of the 'Green House'?" Yes, in a letter received from Mary Joyce Adams, who had been a graduate student of Lucy Gage. She had written:

> You may know Lucy Gage's constant theme of the need for teachers to know "original sources." She felt it so keenly that she persuaded administrators at Peabody to let the "Green House" be moved to the campus as a laboratory for her elementary education students. This was a well-built frame structure with no partitions. The purpose was to have students set up classrooms in this building: sewing curtains for the windows; dyeing the cloth from the red clay dug from the Tennessee hillsides; making tables and chairs from boxes; making and hanging bulletin boards and such. Some girls made an outdoor pool for fish and snails with piped running water. All these projects required much contact with the superintendent of grounds department which, Miss Gage insisted, was one of the good by-products.
>
> My part in the whole was to search for a hen ready to sit on eggs in the poultry coop I had built beside the "Green House." I shall not forget wading to the coop through the rain one Sunday in April to feed my hen. Miss Gage felt that girls from the South were particularly unwilling to get involved physically in creating such necessities as were called for in good teaching. Having grown up on a farm and having been a participant in all manual needs as well as in the rest of our family life, this was a matter of course to me. The principle is a valid one, and I have lived by it always, as well as having passed it on to students I helped to train. Upon leaving the kindergarten field this June after forty years in it, someone remarked, "There go the chickens, turkeys, lambs, etc." I fear this is true.[1]

As a corollary to the above, Miss Adams shared the following letter with the writer:

> Palmer House, Chicago
> April 20, 1937
>
> Dear Mary Joyce Adams:
>
> Would you please tell Miss Cox and Miss Gardstang in our 400C that I brought them a bucket of red earth for dyeing? It is in the back of my car in the garage back of the apartment nearest 19th Avenue. All is unlocked—the garage and the back of the car if they wish to go over and get it to experiment with during the weekend.
>
> I loved the bluebonnets and your thoughtful note and sweetness in the little box. Thank you, my dear, for living the things we try to teach.
>
> Gratefully yours,
> Lucy Gage[2]

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[1] Letter from Mary Joyce Adams to writer, June 4, 1967.

[2] Letter to Mary Joyce Adams from Lucy Gage, April 20, 1937.

At the end of each school year the Green House was dismantled and the equipment given to neighboring schools or used by the students in their first assignments in the fall as full-fledged teachers. In the following year another group of students started afresh to use their ingenuity in creating an environment they thought good for children.

Another custom started by Lucy Gage at Peabody was "The Hanging of the Greens." This is another topic the mention of Lucy Gage almost invariably brings to mind. It was so on the visit of the writer to George Peabody College as one after another mentioned the Christmas seasons of the past. Clara Gibson Haddox, now a teacher of dance at the College, dwelt on the spirit of those days before Christmas. As one of Miss Gage's students, she went with classmates to the woods to collect the greens for decorating the Social-Religious Hall. No purchasing, but straight from the native woods they gathered the holly, mistletoe and pines to fashion the wreaths and festoons they were to hang. Miss Haddox was very perceptive in her appreciative comments of the philosophy underlying Lucy Gage's down-to-earth approach to education. "Fifty years ahead of her time," said Miss Haddox, "but because she was so direct, so concrete in her teaching, she could make herself understood to us." [3]

There was nothing soft about Lucy Gage. In fact, she was often a severe taskmaster in her insistence on a workmanlike job. Former students were ever ready with anecdotes about their experiences in trying to meet Miss Gage's standards. Gean Morgan, now heading the nursery school which Lucy Gage founded at George Peabody College and an undergraduate and graduate student of Miss Gage, told the writer of her experiences preparing for a fair sponsored by the Elementary Council,* which Miss Gage established. The feature of the fair was the sale of children's toys to be made by the members of the Council. Of course, in line with Miss Gage's principles, as far as possible there were to be no purchased materials and when completed the toys must be durable and suited to the age level of the children.

Miss Morgan and a friend had decided to work together on a wagon big and strong enough for children to get into and be drawn by each other. They managed to get scrap lumber from a lumberyard and found discarded wheels somewhere, but the job was taxing beyond their expectations. One day while they were working on it, another student brought a large rag doll she had made for Miss Gage's inspection. After looking critically at the doll, Miss Gage ran her hand through its hair. Some of it came out. Disgustedly, Miss Gage yanked out the rest of the hair. "And what do you think a child would do with that!" she screamed. "And that!" as she pulled out one of the doll's arms.

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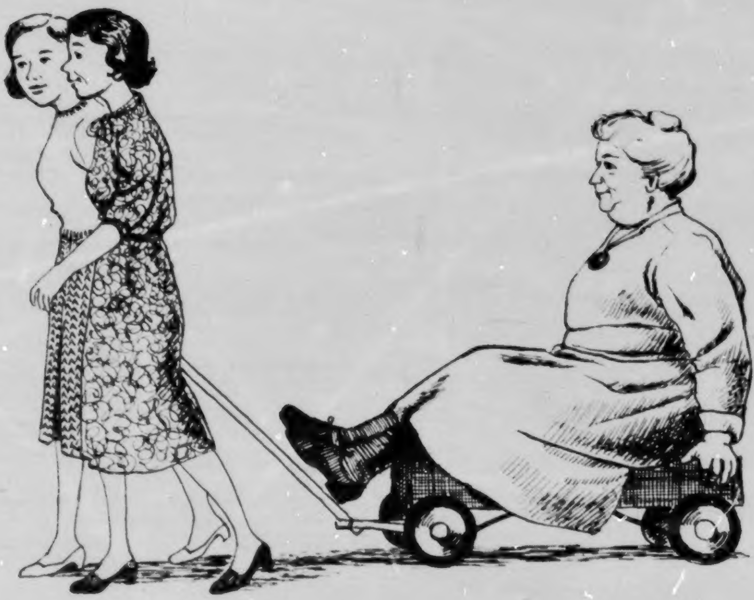
[3] Clara Gibson Haddox, Interview with the writer, July 1967.

* The Elementary Council, organized in or before 1926, was originally a branch of the National Council of Primary Education and became a branch of ACE in 1930-31 after the merger. From its beginning it included kindergarten teachers and teachers and administrators of grades one to eight. It also had a wide range of scholastic levels—from freshmen through the Ph.D. This was because Miss Gage believed in unifying the experiences of children from nursery school through grade eight and of the teaching and administrative staff. (Note submitted by Dr. Maycie K. Southall, colleague of Lucy Gage.)

Miss Morgan and her friend looked at their wagon and then saw only its defects. Hoping to improve it, they gave it another coat of red paint. It was not yet dry when Miss Gage wanted to see it. Not merely to see it but to test its strength by seating herself in it! The producers of the wagon were quick to prevent the threatened catastrophe, but Miss Gage said that she could not judge the wagon until she had tested it.

The night of the fair arrived. All the products were on display except the red wagon. No wagon and no Miss Gage! All the Council had assembled. Where was Miss Gage? They soon knew as in came Miss



"Now *it's strong enough for children!*"

Gage (a very large woman) seated in the wagon triumphantly drawn by two attendants.

This story reminded Miss Morgan of one of Miss Gage's endearing qualities, her sense of humor, that delightful ability to enjoy a laugh at one's own expense. She loved to tell about a visit she had paid to the Peabody Nursery School. She seated herself beside one of the children. After looking at her thoughtfully, the boy presently said, "Big black feet! Big fat woman!"[4]

For convenience while teaching at George Peabody, Miss Gage lived in an apartment house near the College. Many stories are told of her life there with her gentle father in the later years of his life. He was very much part of the gatherings of faculty, faculty wives and students who loved the happy home atmosphere of the Gage apartment. But Lucy Gage was too much of a nature lover, too much of an outdoor person to live all her life in a city apartment. She managed to find a way to have a cabin in the hills which, like the apartment in Nashville, she shared generously with her friends.

In the letter from Mary Joyce Adams to the writer, this is a bit about the cabin:

> I spent several weeks with Lucy Gage at her cabin, Beersheba, on Missionary Ridge in Tennessee (seventy miles from Nashville, I believe). This cabin had been moved from a settlement named for the biblical setting. It was constructed of notched logs. One large room had a huge fireplace as its chief center of interest. As I recall, all cooking was done over that fire. There was a large strawberry patch near the cabin as it stood on the edge of a ridge. When Miss Gage entertained the Council the students were asked to pick and wash the berries. Then we all sat on the sandstone uncovered patio where we dipped the fresh berries into a bowl of sugar as we ate them.[5]

Dr. Maycie K. Southall gave the following description of the cabin:

> Only the main living room of Lucy Gage's mountain home was the original cabin. The rest was designed by Lucy Gage and built of logs from two dismantled log churches of the same period. She kept the pioneer atmosphere but had a very artistic functional home which was true to the best of the pioneer days. In addition it had a stove, hot and cold running water, and a bathroom; but nothing but candles in beautiful old candle sticks were burned in the living room. It also had an orchard and a garden and a view that was indescribable because of its carefully selected vantage point.

Apparently Lucy Gage was seldom alone in her cabin at Beersheba. The lowly and the great alike always found a welcome. A former student recalled that one day, happening to be in the neighborhood, she ventured with some hesitation to knock on the door of Beersheba. She said that she will never forget the warmth of Miss Gage's welcome as she, herself, opened the door. Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick wrote after a visit to Beersheba, "Blessed indeed were those who crossed the portal of Lucy Gage's home, lingering there for either a short or a long period."[6] Lucy Gage was a queen in her home.

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[4] Gean Morgan, Interview with the writer, July 1967.
[5] *Op. cit.*, Adams, Letter to writer.

Not only through her boundless hospitality was Lucy Gage never alone. Lucy was a devoted daughter, always planning for her father's comfort. He lived with her as well as Maggie, the Negro housekeeper who, Miss Haddox said, was the only one who ever bossed Lucy Gage. Maggie managed the household and Miss Gage, both with devotion. It was quite usual for Miss Gage to casually invite someone home to dinner with the remark, "I don't know what we will have; it's up to Maggie." Though the relationship was warm and mutually appreciative, Maggie was frequently "fired." This apparently was Miss Gage's effort to "get from under" Maggie's kindly despotism. But neither took such incidents seriously. Each simply went serenely on her way as before.[7]

Lucy Gage's empathy with people and her love of all living things combined to give force to her expression of the philosophy of life and education she gradually developed. Willie Lawson, a student in a graduate course given in the summer of 1928, made a point of jotting down a number of her pithy statements. A few are given here as illustrative.

Some had to do directly with children:

> Little children are not logical; they are motor.
> To give a child joy, give him something to do.

Some, with education:

> Education is no more than making commonplace things significant.
>
> It is not the activity; it is not the process; it is seeing the significance of subject matter that counts.
>
> An activity is an activity when the identification of self with the problem is uppermost.
>
> More and more there must be thoroughness in record keeping. "I've done this, now I must put it down."
>
> In the future, textbooks will be done away with largely. Activities will take their place.
>
> Civic-mindedness is a sign of education.

Some, with life itself:

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[6] Carrie Bailey, "Life and Work of Lucy Gage, Pioneer Teacher and Learner" Unpublished M. A. Thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, June 1960. Prepared under the direction of Dr. Maycie K. Southall.

[7] *Op. cit.*, Haddox, Interview.

> I want you to be very much impressed with the dullness of security and the aliveness of adventure. I find the people interesting who won't be lulled into that constant sense of security.
>
> We were created to create.
>
> The most significant creative work is done after sixty years of age (Miss Gage was fifty-two at the time and lived to be sixty-nine).
>
> One driving idea drives you insane.
>
> Give a girl a fling at sixteen or she will have it at thirty and be a fool.

And this, the eternal protest of the creative spirit against the formalism into which original ideas inevitably degenerate:

> Is it possible that a freer technique is already degenerating into formalism?[8]

Dr. A. L. Crabb, a colleague of Miss Gage in the Department of Education, emphasized her force, her power, her determination, her uncompromising attitude wherever the welfare of children was at stake. This led her occasionally, he said, into controversy and even quarrels.[9] One can well understand the last from a speech made before Southwest Missouri Teachers Association in which she is quoted as declaring that she "would smash phonograph records and even pianos in the kindergarten because children do not learn music from these." In the same speech she deplored too much teaching and too little learning in schools. She described teachers as pulling strings and being well pleased with their efficiency in getting automatic responses. "Yes," she said, "they are, indeed, wonderfully efficient in growing automatons and in getting mass responses; but the day is over when teachers can be satisfied with teaching by patterns, devices and tricks."[10] It is not surprising her students were often nonplussed and even exasperated when she inveighed against their "sugar-coated methods" and their "cute ideas."

It is easy, too, to imagine the indignation of the dedicated Froebelians had they read the following in one of her unpublished manuscripts:

> It was not easy to break through the early devotion of the [kindergarten] pioneers with a questioning attitude toward their beliefs. It was even more difficult to pry loose a group of genteel, unmarried women from the emotional satisfaction they enjoyed in a kind of vicarious, sentimental motherhood formed in daily association with children, stimulating their affection and their dependence upon them.[11]

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[8] Willie Lawson, "Miss Gage Says," *The Peabody Reflector and Alumni News*, Vol. I, No. 21, 1928, pp. 18, 19.

[9] Dr. A. L. Crabb, Interview with the writer, July 1967.

[10] Adapted from a speech reported in *Springfield Daily*, Missouri, October 26, 1928.

[11] Lucy Gage, "The Slow Growth of Professionalism in the Field of the Education of Young Children." Unpublished Manuscript (probably written late in life since there is reference in the article to her forty-six years of teaching) (Archives, George Peabody College).

A Pioneer in a Pioneering Family

LUCY GAGE WAS A PIONEER. SHE KNEW IT AND SHE GLORIED IN IT. SHE titled the last article she wrote for publication, "Pioneering in Education."[12] In it she told the truly phenomenal story of how she brought kindergartens to Oklahoma when it was still a territory. Although the article was written in 1942, the year of her retirement, it was evident to her friends long before that those Oklahoma days were among her most cherished memories and her achievements there her greatest pride.

Much in her family background accounted for Lucy Gage's pioneering spirit—her love of the outdoors, her insistence on making do with what you have, her scorn of the manufactured article whenever one's own hands could produce what the creative mind could devise, her fearlessness of the unknown, her desire for new experiences and for untrodden paths, and above all her neighborliness. Both sides of the family came from pioneer stock; her father, William Gage, was born of a Scotch-Irish family who had settled in the Mohawk Valley in New York and had migrated farther west when he was a child, to Portsmouth, Ohio. Her mother, Caroline Angele Gage, was born in Kentucky of a German family making its way in a new world by farming the land.[13]

The early married life of William and Caroline Gage was spent in Portsmouth, Ohio, where Lucy was born October 17, 1876, and spent the first fifteen years of her life. Miss Gage recalled those days as happy ones. She would tell of the fun she and the other two children had with their mother at picnics in the woods and the long free summers on their grandparents' farm. Then there were the drives with their mother in the phaeton to and from the village school where Lucy received the first nine years of her formal education. Mrs. Gage was an accomplished needle woman and taught sewing and all other household arts to the children. No doubt this was done with characteristic German thoroughness, and her insistence on good workmanship may well have accounted for Lucy Gage's high standards for the handwork done by her students. She spoke of her parents as having "a sweet reasonableness at all times that does not breed revenge."[14]

The life in Portsmouth, Ohio, came to an end in 1891 when William Gage decided to move to Superior, Wisconsin, to develop a new business, the manufacture of lumber products. Lucy was fifteen at the time and entered the high school in Superior. Here she was an outstanding student academically, a member of the Glee Club and of the King's Daughters. She was graduated in 1893, at the age of seventeen. It is not known what led her for the next few months to become an assistant in a kindergarten in the mill district of Superior and to her decision to spend the next two years in training for kindergarten work.[15]

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[12] Lucy Gage, "Pioneering in Education," *The Peabody Reflector*, Vol. XV, No. 3, March 1932.
[13] *Op. cit.*, Bailey Thesis, adapted, pp. 2, 10, 11, 13.
[14] Evelyn Wilkes Vaill, "A Woman of Much Importance," *The Peabody Reflector*, Vol. IX, No. 5, May 1926, pp. 3-6.

Probably the proximity of Chicago led to her choice of Chicago Free Kindergarten Institute, then affiliated with the Armour Institute, for her professional education. It was a fortunate choice, since it gave her contact in her initial training with the foremost leaders in the break from the traditional to a more realistic approach to the education of young children. Eva Blaine Whitmore was the head of the Institute and, as Lucy Gage said, "was eighty-eight and enjoying life." Lucy Gage also quotes Miss Whitmore as counselling the students to "Follow the truth wherever it may lead you even to the point of giving up your most treasured ideas and ideals." And Lucy adds, "Strong medicine for young women in the 1890's." [16]

Like Patty Smith Hill and Alice Temple, Lucy Gage had the benefit of the instruction of Anna E. Bryan, whom Miss Whitmore had been instrumental in bringing to Chicago from Louisville. Lucy Gage had the three major courses with Miss Bryan: Introduction to the Study of Educational Psychology, Child Study, and Practice and Methods. This was while John Dewey was developing his experimental school at the University of Chicago and, finding a kindred spirit in Anna E. Bryan, gave a course in Educational Philosophy at the Institute. This, too, was part of the intellectual fare of Lucy Gage. Certainly all this, as she had labeled Miss Whitmore's advice, was "strong medicine" for a girl of eighteen with only a high school education as a foundation.

It was of significance, too, that nothing was doctrinaire about this early professional experience. The Froebelian philosophy was a long way from being supplanted by the psychology of G. Stanley Hall and Edward Lee Thorndike and the philosophy of John Dewey; and Anna E. Bryan was far too original a thinker to take anything on pure faith. As a result, the faculty engaged in comparison and contrast of divergent philosophies and Lucy Gage, as a student, had the benefit of watching honest minds searching for truth.

The lighter touches in the program were courses in storytelling, plays and games and art. Lucy, loving to sing, no doubt enjoyed the courses in music she had with Jessie Gaynor, whose contribution to children through music was outstanding and later whose book, *Songs of the Child-World,*[17] brightened many a classroom.[18]

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[15] *Op. cit.*, Bailey Thesis, p. 6.

[16] *Op. cit.*, Lucy Gage, "The Slow Growth of Professionalism."

[17] Alice C. D. Riley and Jessie L. Gaynor, *Songs of the Child-World* (Cincinnati: The Church Co., 1904).

[18] *Op. cit.*, Bailey Thesis, adapted, p. 16.

After completing the two-year course, Lucy Gage was granted the Institute diploma and was immediately appointed to direct one of the kindergartens sponsored by the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association affiliated with the Institute. For the next five years her major teaching was in the Chicago kindergartens, though each year she spent a few months teaching in the public schools of Superior and living at home with her family.

Then came a break, a dramatic change in the life of the Gage family. William Gage, as eager for the new and untried as his daughter, found the opening of Oklahoma Territory to settlers a challenge he could not resist. Nor could Lucy. Her father gave up his lumber business and she gave up her assured position with the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association. On July 1, 1901, the family left the security of a settled community for the adventures of pioneering in unbroken land.

It was an uncomfortable trip in a crowded coach—for there were many venturesome spirits hungry for land of their own—of the Rock Island Railroad to El Reno, the scene of the first drawing for free land. There were 20,000 applicants. Although the Gage family got nothing, they were not discouraged. If they were not among the fortunate to secure free land, they would buy land. So they moved on to Anadarko in Caddo County and invested their savings in Oklahoma Territory land. The family stories that Lucy Gage in later years loved to tell came from this area.

Stories of pioneering life were in the literal meaning of the word. Because no house was available in the beginning, the family spent the late summer months in a tent pitched in a cornfield. Here were a new kind of people, too—Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas. Lucy, with her strong human interests, spent much time with the Indians trying to understand a way of life very different from anything she had known.

In February an opportunity to teach came to her. It was the offer of a position as superintendent of a three-room school and teacher of the lower grades at Fort Cobb, Oklahoma Territory. One of Lucy's favorite stories tells of her drive to Fort Cobb as the only passenger in a mule-drawn vehicle over slippery, muddy roads. The driver was much impressed with his passenger's fortitude, especially when she did not scream at even the slipperiest spots. As he let her down from the seat beside him at the hut of an Indian squaw with whom she was to live, he remarked: "Say, you're the likeliest woman in these parts—and I'm a widower."

The situation at Fort Cobb was impossible, even for the courageous Lucy. Overcrowded classrooms in a hazardous building, lack of sanitation, no equipment, almost no furniture, undisciplined children of all ages—Lucy decided that she was not the one for the job. She stuck the school year out, and when her family decided to move to Oklahoma City she decided to go with them.

Oklahoma City in 1902 was a far cry from the metropolis it was to become. Lucy described it "as a strange town with red clay, muddy streets, a stray Indian or two, a few cowboys, funny stores and sidewalks." In this frontier setting, Lucy Gage accomplished what seems in the telling incredible. For what she did—a young woman of twenty-six with no experience for the task she had set herself, in a territory just opening up to settlement—was nothing less than to induce the territorial legislature to pass legislation authorizing the establishment of kindergartens in the territory and to see that the law was obeyed.

With Lucy Gage's unerring feeling for the value of the tangible, her first efforts went into securing a kindergarten in which she would be the teacher. No one knew better than she that the best chance of ever getting over an idea is to demonstrate it yourself. So she tramped those muddy streets of Oklahoma City, up and down steps, calling on businessmen, on influential women leaders, appealing to their pride as pioneers to make the concern of little children "a first" when building a new state. Through these face-to-face contacts, she worked up enough enthusiasm to make possible a mass meeting in the new Carnegie Library building.

Lucy Gage was the main speaker at the meeting, repeating to the group what she had said to each individually. She ended by offering her services for a year to demonstrate the importance of kindergartens. The president of Oklahoma Federation of Women's Clubs led the discussion that followed. A leading businessman suggested the organization of "The Oklahoma Kindergarten Association" and gave a substantial sum as a start. Other gifts followed, and the minister of the church offered the Sunday School room to house the kindergarten. For a year Lucy Gage taught the children and as a rule did the cleaning and built fires as well. Children came from far and near, and their mothers came for all kinds of advice. "We proved," said Lucy Gage, "that this experience helped mothers to feel greater responsibility and fathers to feel more respect for their own."

Now that the worth of the kindergarten was pretty well accepted in Oklahoma City, the next step was to establish kindergartens on a territory-wide basis. This meant legislation. The first step was the preparation of a bill to be presented at the next meeting of the Legislature. Naturally, Lucy Gage took the lead. With her usual foresight, she saw that a clause was included in the bill that would require all normal schools, within a year after the passage of the kindergarten bill, to establish a kindergarten training program.

As before, in gaining support for the demonstration kindergarten in Oklahoma City, again she trudged the streets in behalf of this more ambitious project. Writing of this later, she said, "I can still feel myself slipping around in this 'sticky jumbo' as the natives call it." Now she had the able support of others, including her good mother and father, in pleading her cause.

Many anxious days were spent when no one could be certain how the Legislature would act. Two days before the Legislature was to adjourn, the kindergarten bill had not come out of the "sifting committee." Lucy Gage could endure the uncertainty no longer. She determined to go to Guthrie, the capital, and if necessary personally appear before the legislative body. Her mother encouraged her in this venture, but her father was rather fearful of it. But Lucy went.

When she arrived at Guthrie she was dismayed to learn that the "sifting committee" had cancelled the bill. This was particularly hard to take because the chairman of the committee came from her own district and had promised to support the bill. To add to her chagrin, she was told that he had said to his committee, "I know this young woman. She has been running a kindergarten in our town. I'll subscribe $500 to her work next year and that will dispose of the bill." This was Lucy Gage's first lesson in politics, but she was a quick learner.

She gained an interview with the secretary to the Speaker of the House. Through him she met each member of the "sifting committee" individually. Despite his reluctance, she persuaded the chairman of the committee to reinstate the bill. As to the Senate, she gained the promise of Mr. Gore, blind and most influential, to let her sit beside him in the Senate so that as soon as the bill was presented for a vote, he would answer with a resounding "Aye."

By two o'clock in the morning the bill was passed, and a tired Lucy Gage took herself to bed. The next day the Governor signed the bill into law and Lucy returned to Oklahoma City. Her family greeted her warmly. When she told them that the bill had passed her mother said, "Of course, it has." Tears were in her father's eyes.[19]

During the next five years Lucy Gage occupied a position of leadership in the development of kindergartens in Oklahoma Territory. For a while she taught her own kindergarten and later supervised three others. With the bill authorizing it, there was no difficulty in having Epworth University in Oklahoma City initiate a program in professional education for the kindergartner. She organized, directed and taught some of the courses at the University.

The influence of the analytic, comparative approach to professional

[19] *Op. cit.*, Gage, "Pioneering in Education." Adapted.

education, which characterized her own initial training at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Institute under Whitmore, Bryan and Dewey, is shown in both the title and the readings to be done in the major course, "Froebel's Fundamental Principles in the Light of Modern Psychology and Modern Child Study." The readings included writings of Froebel, Dewey, James, Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Herbart, King, Coe, Fiske, Tanner.

Like other leaders of her day, Lucy Gage considered the education of mothers as going hand in hand with that of their kindergarten children. At Epworth she gave a series of twelve talks to mothers, the announcements carrying the following slogan:

> Instinctive motherhood is good, but conscious intelligent motherhood is better.

The titles of the talks were:

Children's Interests
The Imitative, Habit-forming Period
The Educational Significance of Play
Play and Work
Moral Development
Mistaken Kindness
Art in Elementary Education
Home Occupations
Children's Literature
School and Social Progress [20]

The unusual progress made in the kindergarten movement in Oklahoma Territory attracted wide attention beyond its borders, and the name of Lucy Gage was identified with it. One of the issues of concern among kindergartners was the type of institution in which kindergartners should be trained. Is it better to have separate training schools for kindergartners or should their training be part of the broader program in normal schools and colleges or universities? International Kindergarten Union devoted one of the sessions of its 1906 meeting at Milwaukee to the question. Lucy Gage, one of the main discussants, sided with Alice Temple. She spoke in favor of the training of the kindergartner as part of the broader program of a university, college or normal school because these institutions can secure superior teachers, afford better equipment, and offer broader educational advantages to the students and because standards of achievement are likely to be kept at a higher level. Then she sketched the development in Oklahoma, starting with legalization in March 1903, the establishment of public kindergartens in the first year, a training course at Epworth University in the second year, and training departments in each of the three normal schools in the third year. She attributed the achievement to the fact that intelligent progressive people, many of them professionals, had settled in Oklahoma.[21] Her tramping the muddy streets of Oklahoma City, her adroit handling of the state legislators did not enter the picture she drew.

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[20] *Op. cit.*, Bailey Thesis, p. 120.

[21] Lucy Gage, "The Kindergarten Training Course as a Department of a University," Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1906, pp. 53-56.

Teaching at Kalamazoo State Normal School and Study at Teachers College, Columbia University

A FIVE-YEAR EXPERIENCE IN CHICAGO, ANOTHER FIVE YEARS IN OKLAhoma, and Lucy Gage was ready for another adventure in teaching. When President Dwight Waldo of Kalamazoo, Michigan, State Normal School invited her to develop a kindergarten training program in his school, she accepted the offer. But before undertaking her new work, she wanted to know firsthand what developments in kindergarten education were taking place outside her own area of activity. So, in the spring of 1907, as Ella Victoria Dobbs was to do a semester later, Lucy Gage enrolled in Teachers College, Columbia University.

This first experience as a student at Columbia brought Lucy Gage and Patty Smith Hill together. They had much in common both in their warm outgoing natures and in their professional ideals. As a student in Professor Hill's Kindergarten Conference, Miss Gage found herself one of a group from widely scattered parts of the world who had come to what was the acknowledged source of the most progressive kindergarten thought of the day. She had two courses with Professor MacVannel, who worked closely with Professor Hill. In his courses she came in contact with an analytical, philosophic thinker as he compared and contrasted the theories of Herbart * and Froebel. No doubt in Professor Frank McMurry's course she saw the practical application of the theories of Herbart as he interpreted them in his type studies in the social sciences. Like Ella Victoria Dobbs, she came under the influence of the celebrated Professor Arthur Dow in a course in art. Thus enriched she began her work at Kalamazoo.

During her first years at Kalamazoo, Lucy Gage devoted herself to the task to which she had been assigned, the development of a program in kindergarten education. The catalog of 1909 gives the following courses:

Ed. 101. An Introductory Course Dealing with the Child, His Interests, His Play. Tanner, Sully.

Ed. 102. Study of Such Phases of Development as Imagination and Habit. James

Ed. 103. Techniques: Introduction to Play Materials; Study of Their Values.

Ed. 104. A Review of the Process of Interaction Between the Child and Play Material with Emphasis upon the Teacher as Mediator. Froebel, Kilpatrick, et al.

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* The psychological and educational theories of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), developed at University of Jena and promulgated by Drs. Charles and Frank McMurry and Charles DeMargo, exerted a marked influence on the methodology of elementary education in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Ed. 105. The Application of Principles as Found in Mother Play. Froebel, Dewey

Teaching 111. Observation in City and Normal School Kindergartens

Teaching 112, 113. Student Teaching—Each Student Teacher Responsible for a Group 2 Hours Daily Under Supervision.[22]

Again, as at Epworth, there is evidence in the names of the educators accompanying the course titles that Lucy Gage wanted her students to be exposed to divergent points of view.

Like Patty Smith Hill, Alice Temple and other leaders who shared her advanced views, Lucy Gage was eager to help bring the kindergarten out of its traditional isolation, to coordinate it with the grades, and thus to further the continuity of education for young children. Again, feeling the need for further enlightenment on the problem, she took a semester's leave from the Kalamazoo Normal School and spent another semester, the spring of 1915, at Teachers College, Columbia University.

In this second experience at Columbia, Lucy Gage again pursued her kindergarten work with Professor Hill. This time it was extended to the supervision and training of kindergartners in the Practicum Professor Hill conducted for experienced kindergartners. Always interested in the unification of the kindergarten with the grades, she found what she sought in the course in Unification of Kindergarten and Primary Grades given by Professor Annie E. Moore and in Elementary Education by Professor Hillegas. Her abiding love of the crafts found satisfaction in Professor Bonser's Industrial Arts in the Elementary Schools. Finally she had the opportunity of studying with the famous teacher, Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick; and again, as with her study with Professor MacVannel, she saw a philosophic mind at work—grappling with comparing and contrasting educational theories.

Returning to Kalamazoo, Lucy Gage worked on the preparation of a coordinated kindergarten-primary program. The catalog of 1917 gives the program under the title, "Early Elementary Education: Kindergarten, First and Second Grades":

Ed. 101. Early Childhood Education: A Fundamental Course Planned To Acquaint Students with Childhood

Ed. 102. Content of the Curriculum: A Psychological Presentation of the Curriculum for Kindergarten, First and Second Grades

Ed. 103. Current Educational Problems: A Comparative Study of Modern Theories and Types of Modern Schools

Ed. 104. Beginning Reading

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[22] *Op. cit.*, Bailey Thesis.

Ed. 105. Games and Rhythms

Ed. 106. Observation in Kindergarten, First and Second Grades

Courses in Student Teaching were continued as in the program of 1909, with students having experience both in the kindergarten and the grades but with emphasis on one or the other according to their choice.[23]

In the title of Ed. 103, it is clear that Lucy Gage, regardless of how convinced she might be as to her own philosophy of education, was as determined as ever, reinforced by her Columbia experience, that students should have a foundation of diverse points of view from which they would evolve their own philosophy. This is not to say that Lucy Gage ever held back in expressing her convictions. So ardent a spirit as hers could never be neutral when important issues were at stake. Nor could the contagion of her enthusiasm ever be stifled.

Lucy's parents had not gone with her to Kalamazoo but remained in their Oklahoma home. For several years Lucy lived in the home of Mrs. Fred Chappell. This was a very happy arrangement, for Mrs. Chappell thoroughly enjoyed having Lucy and her friends in her home. This made it possible for Lucy to extend hospitality to students and faculty as bountiful as in Chicago, Oklahoma and Superior, which was to reach its climax later in Nashville and at Beersheba.

A change came when Lucy's mother died in 1917 and her father, suffering from arthritis, came to live with Lucy in Kalamazoo. Now Lucy was to have a home of her own, an apartment shared with her father for the next three years in Kalamazoo and until his death in Nashville.

Appointment to George Peabody College for Teachers and More Study at Columbia University

LUCY GAGE WAS FORTY-FOUR, A MATURE WOMAN, WHEN SHE LEFT Kalamazoo for the George Peabody College in Nashville. Asked why, in the midst of success and congenial surroundings, she would want to change, she answered, "A person needs a fresh outlook and new problems if he would grow. New problems challenge thinking, and I'm sure that thirteen years was long enough on the problem there." [24] Two years at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Institute after graduation from the Superior High School, Wisconsin; two separate semesters at Teachers College, Columbia University; with no academic degree—and yet she was invited to the faculty of George Peabody College, "that arena for mental battles on educational problems," [25] as was its reputation in those years.

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[23] *Op. cit.*, Bailey Thesis.

[24] *Op. cit.*, Vaill, pp. 3-6.

[25] *Ibid.*, Vaill.

There Lucy was to meet the challenge of some of the sharpest minds in education, men for the most part, and with advanced degrees: Thomas Alexander, who later was to found and chair New College at Teachers College, Columbia University, generally regarded as the boldest and most fundamental experiment in teacher education in the century; Charles McMurry, whose work in educational method based on the Herbartian psychology has profoundly influenced American elementary education; Dr. Herman Donovan, able President of the University of Kentucky; Hollis Caswell, recognized authority on curriculum who was to become Dean of Teachers College, Columbia University; James Tippett, Principal of the widely acclaimed progressive demonstration school at George Peabody College and celebrated writer for children; William Russell, who was to succeed his father as Dean of Teachers College, Columbia University, and become its first president. In this high-powered, professional atmosphere, Lucy Gage was to find fulfillment, the fruition of all her previous experience and the rounding out of the philosophy of life and of education she had been building during her earliest years.

As when she undertook her new work at Kalamazoo, Lucy Gage again felt the need to equip herself further for the challenge the position at George Peabody College offered. Also, the College administration urged her to complete the requirements for a bachelor's degree, academic regulations making her appointment dependent on it. Again, she sought what she wanted at Columbia University. This, her third period of study there, was more sustained, continuing through the fall and spring semesters and the summer of 1921-22.

By now, having completed requirements in kindergarten education professionally, she pursued her interest in the unification of kindergarten and the grades. This she did in two major courses in elementary education for principals, supervisors and critic teachers in the elementary grades given by Professor Milo Hillegas. With this broad foundation she moved into more specialized fields: a course with Professor Leta Hollingworth, The Psychology and Treatment of Exceptional Children; one in Hygiene of Childhood and Adolescence with Professor Thomas D. Wood; one in Industrial and General Geography with Professor Charles T. McFarlane; and one in Physical Care of Infants and Small Children with Professor Josephine Kenyon (M.D.).

Somehow Lucy Gage found time to gratify the hunger for a broader culture than her busy life of the past had permitted. In the social sciences she had a course in Sociology with Professor Herbert Shenton and another with him in Problems of Democracy. In English there was a course in Nineteenth-Century Writers with one of the great teachers of English, Professor Franklin Thomas Baker; one in Modern European Literature with Professor Dorothy Brewster; and one in Special Problems in Writing with Professor Mary Hill, the sister and collaborator of Patty Smith Hill in many educational projects.

Important as all these courses were in widening her horizon, the crowning experience was the practicum with John Dewey in History, Religion, and Philosophy of Education. Allied to this was the course, Foundations of Method, given by William Heard Kilpatrick, master teacher and incisive and appreciative interpreter of John Dewey. All this in one year!

The above details are given not only to show the immediate background Lucy Gage had acquired to bring to her work at George Peabody College but also to indicate something of the change that was taking place in the professional education of teachers. This was a far cry from the normal schools of the first half of the nineteenth century, when young people having completed eight grades of elementary school were given a year of study to learn how to teach what they had learned in their elementary school years. Little by little the normal school program had been increased to two, to three, to four years. Later graduation from high school was required for admission to city training schools and state normal schools. As state accreditation required more professional and general education, the colleges and universities strove to meet the needs of teachers already employed but lacking the increasing required courses.

Some teachers, like Ella Victoria Dobbs and Lucy Gage, took time off for an occasional semester or year of study. Many reached their goal by a far longer and more difficult road as after a heavy day's work with children they attended afternoon or evening classes or spent their vacations at summer schools. For some this meant stimulation and even excitement as new worlds opened before them. Unfortunately, for many it meant a weary grind counting up credits, generally three per course per semester until the prodigious 120 were accumulated and the bachelor of science degree awarded, assuring full accreditation and a higher salary.

Lucy Gage never sought a degree beyond the Bachelor's degree; therefore, by the standards of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, she was not permitted to offer graduate courses. However, graduate students were permitted to carry one-fourth of their program in courses at a senior college level. Doctoral candidates frequently took advantage of this provision by enrolling in Miss Gage's courses and, by a special concession, she was permitted to guide students in their Master's theses.

Although the years ahead were to take her far afield both in the United States and in foreign countries, Lucy Gage's focus was George Peabody College, and students came first. There her roots grew very deep. Her warm home life, both in the Nashville apartment and at Beersheba in the hills of Tennessee, were "all of a piece with her college life. This simple oneness of her personality was to deepen with the years."

Fruition at George Peabody College

AT GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE LUCY GAGE FULLY REALIZED HER dream for a program that would articulate the kindergarten with the grades. She had the opportunity of going beyond this by including the nursery school in the continuity of early childhood education. It is very likely that her eagerness to eliminate any idea of a break between nursery school and kindergarten and between kindergarten and the grades led to her designating the program she established by the overall term, "Early Elementary Education."

There was nothing stereotyped about this program. As needs arose, as new insights into the educational process were gained, Lucy Gage introduced new courses or gave new slants to old ones. Thus in 1931, she became interested in the part that Reading plays in the development of children's language and accordingly gave a course reflecting this relationship in its title, The Teaching of English Including Reading.

Teaching meant guidance to Lucy Gage—guidance of the person. She was keenly sensitive to the delicacy of the process, of the responsibility of any adult who assumed to guide another. This was evident in her early teaching days at Epworth University when she contrasted "instinctive motherhood" with "conscious intelligent motherhood." She used the words "conscious" and "intelligent" frequently and in using them expressed the high degree of alert thinking needed by all adults, particularly teachers and parents, who dealt with children. Thus, in a course given at Peabody in 1933 under the title, "Adult Education," the description states that it "stresses conscious intelligent cooperation in guidance at home and in school." Again, in 1935, in Survey of Nursery, Kindergarten, and Elementary Education, the course is described as "dangers and advantages of guidance of young children." Guidance to Lucy Gage was far more than a matter of words, of advice from an older to a younger person; instead, it was something that grows out of activities in which both participate. This is implied in a further descriptive phrase in the Survey: "The workshop, the library, and the laboratory are essential in a balanced school life."

When Lucy Gage arrived at George Peabody she found a laboratory school already established. Dr. Thomas Alexander, for whom giving education courses without a laboratory school was as unthinkable as it was for Lucy Gage, had established one soon after arriving at the College six years earlier. President Payne was sympathetic with Dr. Alexander's need and told him to go ahead and start a school, but that there was nothing in the budget for the purpose.

At the visit of the writer to the Peabody campus, mentioned earlier, Dr. J. E. Windrow spoke appreciatively of Dr. Alexander. He told how he started the demonstration school in the basement of the Psychology Building, having enlisted the interest of parents, secured equipment, assembled an outstanding faculty, and had more applicants for enrollment than could be accepted. All was done on faith, for as President Payne had warned, it was not in the budget. Having the school under way in temporary quarters, Dr. Alexander then helped President Payne raise $1,000,000 for a building. In the ten years that he was at Peabody, leaving in 1924 to accept Dean James Earl Russell's invitation to teach at Teachers College, Columbia University, Dr. Alexander had the pleasure of seeing the demonstration school under construction.

Dr. Windrow mentioned the unusually fine staff of the demonstration school: Joseph Roemer, Dean of the undergraduate school; James Tippett, writer for children; and such able teachers as Julia Harris, Nettie Brogden, Margaret Coble and Mildred English, each of whom became a leader in childhood education. Dr. Windrow had been its Director from 1937 to 1947.[26] Lucy Gage made ample use of the excellent facilities provided by such a demonstration school. While it is designated "Demonstration School," Lucy Gage preferred to call it "Laboratory School" because, she said, "the first term has too much of a side-line, spectator connotation, and you learn only by getting into a situation." [27]

While writing for Lucy Gage was always subordinate to teaching and to human needs, these years at Peabody were her most productive in publication. What writing she did was always related to what she was doing or what she believed in education. Much of this found a voice in *The Peabody Reflector and Alumni News.* Soon after Lucy Gage's arrival at Peabody she set forth her views in an article, "New Ideas in Elementary Education at Peabody College." [28] A short time later she wrote a more general article, "Freedom, Authority, and Control in Education." [29] Evidently she hoped to pave the way for a nursery school on the campus —she established one in 1929—by an article in 1927, "Why the Nursery School?" [30] In her later years she wrote the reminiscent article, "Pioneering in Education."

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[26] Interview of writer with Dr. J. E. Windrow at George Peabody College, July 1967.

[27] Lucy Gage, Notes (Stevens Collection, George Peabody College Archives).

[28] ——, "New Ideas in Elementary Education at Peabody College." *The Peabody Reflector and Alumni News,* Vol. IV, No. 7, 1921.

[29] ——, "Freedom, Authority, and Control in Education." *The Peabody Reflector and Alumni News,* Vol. V, No. 10, 1922.

[30] ——, "Why the Nursery School?," *The Peabody Reflector and Alumni News,* Vol. XI, No. 8, 1927.

After the International Kindergarten Union established the journal, CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, as its official organ, in 1924, Lucy Gage contributed several outstanding articles to it. The earliest written in 1925, "Kindergarten Progress in the Past Twenty-five Years,"[31] does what its title promises. In addition, it shows the historic roots of the later growth of the kindergarten. Though close to the current time of which she writes, Lucy Gage shows her historic perspective in the way she describes the transition from the Froebelian to the more realistic approach and her appreciation of the leaders in both schools of thought. Parallel with the philosophic movements, she traces equally well the change from philanthropic motivation and support to governmental responsibility.

This article might well be regarded as background for the next, "Teacher Training in the South," published in two parts in the April 1928 and September 1929 issues of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION. Her treatment of the topic in the April issue develops one of her favorite themes, the need for unification of education for young children, and illustrates her point with a description of the Peabody College program. In the September issue she first builds a background by enumerating the radical changes that were taking place in the whole structure of the South. Then she asks her question, "What place has the young child in the changing South?" She declares that industrialization and urbanization have brought about an upheaval that calls for drastic change in education. She regrets that interest in education, as usual, has been "from the top down," with the needs of young children emerging slowly. She pleads for a preschool laboratory in every teachers' college and challenges George Peabody College to encourage its graduates to teach the children of the South.[32]

In her review of Harriet M. Johnson's *Children in the Nursery School*, in the December 1928 issue of PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, Lucy Gage is eloquent in her appreciation of and enthusiasm over a workmanlike job wherever she found it. She had little sympathy with the standardized test movement and with the way its neat objectivity was already threatening to minimize the fundamental objectives of education; but she pleaded unremittingly for the kind of recording that would help teachers truly understand children and their needs. She expresses something of this in the review when she states, "Harriet Johnson combines scientific background with rare insight and interpretation . . . does not ignore the quantitative but emphasizes the qualitative—the intangibles that influence personality, emotional attitudes, the integration of everyday living."

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[31] Lucy Gage, "Kindergarten Progress in the Past Twenty-five Years," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, Vol. II, No. 2, October 1925, pp. 92-95.

[32] ——, "Teacher Training in the South," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, Vol. IV, No. 8, April 1928, pp. 359-361; Vol. VI, No. 1, September 1929, pp. 13-17.

One wishes that the book begun by Lucy Gage, "How May the Grown-up Meet the World of Babyhood Intelligently?" had been completed and published. A complete outline, many handwritten pages, and some scattered notes are in the John Stevens Collection in the Peabody Archives. On the first of the handwritten pages is the note, "Started at Beersheba Mountain Cabin, 9 a.m., September 10, 1938." The same page states the purpose of the book: "To interpret the world of childhood to the world of adulthood in simple language." Lucy Gage's life was spent to this end; no one could do it better. The outline gives the chapter headings, each to show its contribution to "bridging the gap": Play; Work; Books; Sharing Experiences; Discovering in Science, Radio, Movies, Newspapers. Among the random notes, the following suggest her intention to express through this book the convictions on which her life work was founded:

> A common relationship must be found before any bridging can take place.
>
> In the world of growing children, adults, both parents and teachers, are being schooled in the laboratory of life, its raw material, its processes and its outcomes.[33]

The book was begun four years before Lucy Gage's retirement ten years before her death. One wonders what "the raw material, the processes, and the outcomes" of that decade were in Lucy's life that kept the book from being completed. One thing is certain, though we may not know the details, it can be told in one word—people.

During all these years Lucy Gage spent much time in speech-making. Whether the audience was big or small made no difference. Where she was invited, she went. An invitation was regarded as an opportunity to plead the cause of childhood. Lay groups and professionals, churches, clubs, PTA's, colleges, and teachers associations listened as she adapted her words to her varying audiences. This meant much traveling, some of it rugged, through Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Kansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Washington, D. C., New Jersey, Texas, Missouri, Ohio, California, Minnesota, Alabama, New York.[34] Dr. Windrow spoke of her as being the pride of the Alumni and always on their programs. He spoke, too, of her popularity with men's groups, of her frequent invitations to speak to Rotary Clubs, and while often upsetting to traditionalists, she was always stimulating.[35]

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[33] Lucy Gage. Notes from an unfinished manuscript, "How May the Grown-up Meet the World of Babyhood Intelligently?" (John Stevens Collection, George Peabody College Archives).
[34] *Op. cit.*, Bailey Thesis, pp. 51-54.
[35] Dr. J. E. Windrow, Interview with writer, July 1967.

Two Little Books For and About Children

IN THE ARCHIVES OF ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION INTERnational are two little books, Lucy Gage's only output in book form. They were given to the Association by Mary Joyce Adams, quoted earlier in this chapter. One a primer, *Up and Doing*, and the other a first reader, *Out and Playing*, are both written as if children are telling about the things they enjoy doing.

In the primer the children run, jump, splash in water, go up and down on seesaws, play in the sand pile, visit the bakery and grocery store, make furniture, wash and iron doll clothes, prepare for and have a party, listen to the story of "The Little Dog with a Green Tail," cleanup after the party, and sum up the day of work and play.

In the first reader the children tell about their dog Bruce, prepare for a Halloween party, tell about the farmer and the grocery man and their relationships, celebrate Christmas, play with the trains they receive as gifts, tell of the postman and Valentine's Day, go to the circus, celebrate Easter, plant gardens, dance around a May Pole, and enjoy summer vacation.

There is an enthusiastic review of these books and promise of more to come by Bert Roller under the title, "Miss Gage's Books." [36] He describes the books as "having vigor, rhythmic flow, the child's active and natural vocabulary." The present writer would echo his words. The books are reflective of normal good life for children with much needed repetition for beginning readers—so natural a part of the content that it is never obtrusive.

After his favorable comments on the two books, Mr. Roller tells the reader that the best is yet to come. "Good as these books are," he says, "there are a third and a fourth ready for publication, and these are even better." [37] These books have not been located.

In IKU and NCPE

LUCY GAGE WAS A MEMBER OF A NUMBER OF LOCAL AND NATIONAL organizations of diversified interests: Centennial Club, Dickens Club, International Relations Club, Shandygaff, Kappa Delta Pi, and American Association of University Women. Her major professional memberships were in the International Kindergarten Union and the National Council of Primary Education.

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[36] Bert Roller, "Miss Gage's Books," *The Peabody Reflector and Alumni News*, Vol. I, No. 1, November 1927.

[37] *Ibid.*

Though not conspicuously exercising her leadership in organization work during her Kalamazoo days, she is listed as a member of The Committee on Propagation in the Yearbooks of IKU for three years—1909, 1910, 1911.

During the Nashville days Lucy Gage participated in the work of the International Kindergarten Union in the following capacities:

Chairman of Committee on Cooperation with the National Education Association	1920
Member of Committee on Cooperation with the National Education Association—Alice Temple, chairman	1921
Member of Committee on Teacher Training—Alice Temple, chairman	1923-1924
Member of Editorial Board, *Childhood Education* —Mary Dabney Davis, chairman	1928

She held no major offices in the International Kindergarten Union and her membership on committees seemed rather sporadic. No long-time membership, for example, was held on the famous Committee of Nineteen or the significant Committee on Cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Education, on each of which other leaders served year after year during their long existence. It is also of possible significance that her name seldom appears in the Yearbooks of the Union. Only twice is she mentioned in connection with the above committees. In the Proceedings of the 1921 meeting is the following statement:

> Miss Lucy Gage, Chairman of the Program Committee for the Kindergarten section of the Superintendence Session in Atlantic City in February, gave a brief but enthusiastic report of that meeting. As chairman for the year of the Committee on Affiliation of the IKU with the NEA Miss Gage stated the opportunity and the duty of kindergartners was to attend the meeting of the NEA in large numbers and to take part in the projects of our great body of American teachers. The personal as well as the professional benefit of such cooperation cannot be overestimated.[38]

The other reference is made by Miss Temple as chairman of the Committee on Teacher Training in her fifteen-page report of the work of the Committee in the 1925 Yearbook. In it she mentions the work of Miss Gage on a subcommittee on four-year teacher education programs and the report Miss Gage made of a four-year program she had developed which was published in CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, December 1924.[39]

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[38] Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Detroit, Michigan, 1921, p. 139.

[39] Proceedings of the Thirty-second Annual Meeting of International Kindergarten Union, Los Angeles, California, 1925, p. 100.

In the bulletins of National Council of Primary Education Lucy Gage is listed as follows:

Vice-chairman	1923-1925
Chairman	1925-1927
Member of Board of Directors	1929
Member of Finance Committee	1929
Co-author (with Ella Victoria Dobbs and Julia Hahn) of the History of the National Council of Primary Education	1923

Cooperation among groups interested in the education of children grew with the years. The National Education Association convention, each summer in July in different regions of the country, and its Department of Superintendence, each year in February, gave and have continued to give opportunity for joint meetings of groups sharing kindred interests. It became customary for International Kindergarten Union and National Council of Primary Education either in meetings of the whole or of their committees to take advantage of these times that brought together such large and varied groups of educators. Not only did these two organizations thus cement their relationships but frequently they participated in joint meetings of their own organizations with affiliated membership groups or departments of the National Education Association.

During Lucy Gage's chairmanship of National Council of Primary Education, she presided over three such joint meetings:

1925—Summer Conference of National Education Association, Indianapolis: Joint Session of National Council of Primary Education and Kindergarten Department of National Education Association

1926—February Meeting of the Department of Superintendence, Washington, D. C.: Joint Session of National Council of Primary Education and National Conference on Educational Method.

1928—February Meeting of the Department of Superintendence, Boston: Joint session of National Council of Primary Education, National Council of Supervisors and Training Teachers, and Discussion Group X of the Department of Superintendence.

The three meetings have interest not only because of the leadership and content represented in their program but, in a personal way, because of the growth in Lucy Gage as a presiding chairman.

At the first meeting Lucy was her ebullient self, natural and spontaneous. No doubt she contributed to the informality of the occasion. The luncheon meeting opened with patriotic songs and some verses by James Whitcomb Riley in whose home town they were meeting. Dr. Max A. Bahr, of the staff of the State Hospital for the Insane, and the main speaker, was asked to play an air composed by his father, of which Riley was fond.

Lucy introduced the dignitaries. Included were Commissioner Shankland, the warm, cooperative friend of both International Kindergarten Union and National Council of Primary Education. Commissioner Shankland commended the Council, saying that he had been present ten years ago at its organization meeting, and paid tribute to Ella Victoria Dobbs as its founder. Lucy, quick to pick up the cue, presented Miss Dobbs as "the mother of the Council." Miss Dobbs graciously replied by saying how proud she was of the Council and of her new role as "grandmother" (it was just after she had relinquished the presidency to Lucy Gage after ten years of service).

Dr. Bahr announced his subject as "Psychoanalysis in Relation to Education" which was printed in the Council's ensuing bulletin. It is a most provocative statement on a subject looming large on the educational horizon of the time.[10]

The tone of the second meeting at which Lucy Gage presided, in Washington, D.C., 1926, was quite different although it, too, was a hotel luncheon meeting, scheduled for the same length of time. However, the meeting had to be shortened because the room was needed for another group, and Lucy Gage announced that "it will be necessary to move with dispatch." She certainly did her part in introducing the notables present with scarcely an unnecessary word.

> The Washington committee in charge of this luncheon includes:
>
> Miss Mary Dabney Davis, Miss Rose Lee Hardy and Miss Florence Fox
>
> The President of the International Kindergarten Union, Miss Alice Temple
>
> Miss Mary Dabney Davis who has come to the Bureau recently, representing the Nursery, Kindergarten and Primary education in Washington
>
> . . . Also in Washington is American Association of University Women's Dr. Lois Meek, who has been promoting interest in preschool and elementary education among University women
>
> Professor Patty Smith Hill of Teachers College, New York, will tell you of the Nursery School program.

Miss Gage explained about having to shorten the meeting and that she would have to ask some who were to give reports, to submit them for publication in the Council bulletins and in CHILDHOOD EDUCATION. Her next introduction was:

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[10] Bulletin, National Council of Primary Education, Vol. IX, No. 4, April 1926. Supplement to No. 4, being combined reports of the meetings of July 1925 and February 1926, pp. 3-14, adapted.

> Mrs. Lucy Sprague Mitchell represents the City and Country School of New York, and will speak about this unique school and its practice.

She continued:

> Every one of you will want to hear Dr. Kilpatrick for the rest of the time—the "Conference on Educational Method" part of the program. I am turning it over to their chairman, Miss Simpson.[41]

As Lucy Gage listened to the speeches, she must have been encouraged by the progress reported on so many efforts in which she had participated: Patty Smith Hill's invitation to attend the first national gathering of workers in *all* aspects of the Nursery School; the reorganization of the Bureau of Education to provide the Department of Nursery, Kindergarten and Primary Education, with Mary Dabney Davis as its head; the study being made by American Association of University Women of nursery school education; Dr. Helen Thompson Wooley's appointment to Columbia University to conduct research on young children; Dr. Mina Kerr's emphasis on the need for professionalism among teachers; and Lucy Sprague Mtichell's emphasis on children's learning through senses and muscles.[42]

The formality with which Miss Gage conducted this meeting was in direct contrast to the way she had officiated at the Indianapolis meeting. Was this time pressure? Or was this a conscious effort on her part to adopt the more conventional approach expected at such meetings?

The joint meetings in Boston in 1928 again brought together prominent leaders in the field of childhood education. Lucy Gage, as president of National Council of Primary Education, presided over the first two of the three sessions; Miss Caroline W. Barbour, president of National Council of Kindergarten Supervisors and Training Teachers, presided over the second, Group XI of the Department of Superintendence.

At this meeting, Lucy Gage struck a balance between the informality of the one in Indianapolis and the formality of the one in Washington, by being her natural self, officiating with easy dignity, graciousness and a touch of humor.

The topic of the first meeting was, "Creative Needs of Young Children and How They Should Be Recognized." Lucy Gage had strong feelings about the gap between the administrator and the teacher and a touch of this was shown in her opening remarks: "I had supposed this was a meeting of the Department of Superintendence. I see we have a sprinkling of superintendents through the audience. . . ." Or again,

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[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-35.
[42] *Ibid.*, adapted with comment, pp. 18-35.

"There has been a growing emphasis during the last ten years in the field of administration upon diagnostic and remedial materials. We have been very glad to see this indeed, that there has come about a recognition of classroom needs on the part of the administrators. But we do not feel that this emphasis is to absorb the entire attention of the administrator, and therefore, we have prepared a program on the creative needs of young children and how they should be recognized in the field of administration quite as much as in classroom procedure." [13]

Similarly Miss Gage found opportunity to voice another concern—the gap between the kindergarten and the grades, with the contrast between the creativity of the kindergarten and the formalism of the grades. This she expressed when, after a talk by Julia Wade Abbott abundantly illustrated with children's creative expression, Lucy Gage introduced Miss Ruth Bristol, Elementary School Principal, Ann Arbor, Michigan, with: "It occurs to me that in the kindergarten and even in the early grades, creative work is tolerated, but when we begin to think of the elementary school we sometimes find conflicts between administrative, supervisory methods and classroom procedure, where the child's creative effort is held in some regard by the classroom teacher and not always by the administrator.[14]

Voicing her abiding faith in creativity in her introduction of Dr. John C. Almack, Professor of Education of Leland Stanford University, she said: ". . . the teacher must also have opportunity in her training to realize something on her own account, to build something into her life that makes it possible for her to be in tune with the child's beginning creative efforts."

After Dr. Almack's talk, Lucy Gage had one more opportunity for a double-edged introduction of an administrator: "As the last speaker . . . we have invited an administrator to give us the intelligent cooperation that should exist between classroom procedure and administration, Dr. Meader of the State Normal School at New Haven, Connecticut."

Unlike the meetings at Indianapolis and Washington, this Boston session closed with a vigorous discussion in which many participated. Some comments indicated groping after the underlying meaning of creativity; some were illustrations of good examples of creativity. At one point Lucy Gage interjected her strong feeling for honesty in dealing with children. She said, "There is great danger of sentimentality, I think, with the younger children, towards their creative efforts. I say it advisedly for now and then I come upon the type of teacher who commends the work of children which is very, very poor. I have heard teachers say casually to a little child, 'Oh, it is lovely,' when it was really rotten. . . ."

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[13] Bulletin, National Council of Primary Education, Vol. XI, No. 4 Supplement, April 1928, p. 3.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Patty Smith Hill was the last discussant. She made the point that nobody can ever execute anything that is purely an order by telling of the way she worked with a gardener who in the beginning wanted her to direct him in every detail, until she convinced him that she wanted him to use his ideas. This led Lucy Gage to one of her stories:

> I cannot refrain from giving this illustration. We have a college professor with us who believes in authority; and in very sharp contrast with Miss Hill, he left directions with a colored man to dig a hole in a particular place in his yard for planting a tree. When he came home, the colored man had put the hole where he told him to, and it had gone through a water pipe. It was just so. And he said, "Well, what made you do it?" "Well, sir, you told me to do it. You told me to do it." That authority, that sort of complete direction without any chances for the self to participate, it seems to me, is very much in line with this whole discussion today.[15]

Thus Lucy Gage ably closed the session on creativity.

The session on guidance met the following day and Lucy Gage presided in much the same manner as the preceding day. She tied together the topics of the two meetings in her opening remarks: "Yesterday's session emphasized creative activities. Today's session will emphasize child guidance. We are quite sure that creative work and creative activities must be rightly interpreted and guided in order to bring about satisfactory controls. . . ." The speakers, Dr. Lois H. Meek, Mrs. Arnold Gesell, Miss Lucy Wheelock, Professor Patty Smith Hill, Miss Elizabeth Hall and Dr. Dallas Lore Sharp, were introduced with apt remarks: Mrs. Gesell with "We are so delighted to have a mother and a homemaker on this program." For Miss Wheelock she again made known her feeling of the need for understanding by the administrator: "It was some years ago in a superintendents' meeting in St. Louis that Lucy Wheelock of Boston carried the message of little children to administrators. . . . I feel if it had not been for Lucy Wheelock of Boston taking that step at a certain time, we would not be enjoying certain things that we are here today in Boston, her home city." She showed the respect in which she held Patty Smith Hill by saying, "We have struck snags again and again, and then we have gone to the fountainhead, we have gone to one who led the way." In presenting Dallas Lore Sharp she mentioned his article, "Education for Individualism," which, she said, "I use in my training classes today, as I did when I first found it."[16]

With due allowance for differences in reporting the three meetings, there seems some justification in reading between the lines evidence of growth during the three years in Lucy Gage's skill as a presiding officer. In the first, her native exuberance carried her group with her by the contagion of her personality; in the second was the strict adherence to the conventions expected of the situation, with what looked like an almost total repression of self; in the third was the artistry that comes of discipline aimed at self-improvement. Perhaps this is too free an interpretation of the records; perhaps it is overinfluenced by Lucy Gage's passion for growth, in herself as well as in others.

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.
[16] *Ibid.*, adapted, pp. 34-40.

Her closing words at the last meeting were characteristic and—again perhaps reading too much between the lines—suggestive of her realization that chairing meetings was not the role in which she was happiest. "For three years," she said, "I have held this gavel, and I am today so pleased to hand it to another, to carry on the work of National Council of Primary Education. Will Miss Julia Hahn come forward, please?" "Miss Hahn, we believe in you, and we believe that you will carry on. I am signing off."[17]

Lucy Gage continued her services to the National Council of Primary Education as a member of the Board of Directors until the merger of the Council with IKU. When at the business meeting of the Council in Detroit, February 1931, it was decided that the Council merge with IKU, Lucy Gage was asked to serve on the committee charged with the responsibility of winding up the affairs of the Council. Her final service was her participation with Ella Victoria Dobbs and Julia Hahn in writing the history.[18]

Visiting Students in Foreign Lands

REGARDLESS OF WHATEVER RESPONSIBILITIES LUCY GAGE ASSUMED beyond the campus, always there was the deep interest in her students. As they came to George Peabody College from foreign countries, she became eager to visit them later in their own homelands. This desire took her in the summers of 1930 and 1933 to South America and around the world in 1934-38. *The Peabody Reflector and Alumni News* published the letters she wrote to President Bruce Payne and to students. Her travels must have been very fatiguing at times for she went into the interior of South America to visit a variety of schools—most of which were conducted by her former students. Here school officials often called upon her to make speeches.

On July 6, 1930, in Rio de Janeiro, she wrote of speaking at the

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[18] Ella Victoria Dobbs, Lucy Gage, Julia L. Hahn, "History of the National Council of Primary Education," NCPE Bulletin, February, 1932.

Baptist College, of going to Bello Horizonte to visit Miss Lamar and Miss Guimarias, former students, 400 miles into the interior. From a letter of July 13, we learn that she had met the Executive Board of the Education Association; visited schools in the orange groves district with Mario dos Raos Campos, Federal District Director; spoke at an assembly at Collegio Batista where Mr. Baker, his sister and Victor Starviarsky, former students, met her. There were many such letters.

Lucy's interests on her travels were not solely confined to education. She was sensitive to beauty and keenly interested in social conditions. On shipboard, ten days out of New York, she wrote: "I watched the flying fish leave the crest of the sea waves like so many feathers. They are so dainty! Yesterday every crested wave had a rainbow in its trail." Other letters similarly describe the beauties in colorful language. Still others tell of visits to hospitals and schools of nursing, to coffee and sugar plantations, of the week of lectures for Americans she attended along with the names of the Americans she met. In one letter she wrote, "I regret that I have only one language!" [10]

In the Book of Memories, a collection of tributes paid to Lucy Gage at the time of her retirement, is one from Claude Hutchins, an Australian who met Lucy Gage on shipboard during one of her trips. He tells how on a Mediterranean liner they watched an eruption of Stromboli. Then he says: "She established in me a feeling of the greatest admiration for the women of that great nation, the U.S.A., because every act, every thought which emanates from Lucy Gage speaks of that great background of her country. . . ."

This tribute to Lucy Gage as a person is paralleled by one emphasizing her professionalism. It was paid by Maycie K. Southall, who had worked closely with Lucy Gage for fifteen years. Miss Gage had found in Dr. Southall a supporter of ideas that she expressed in faculty meetings and someone to whom she turned over much of her work, including thesis guidance, when she was called away for work or travel beyond the campus. Dr. Southall wrote of Lucy Gage:

> When I was certain you caused me to doubt.
> When I wavered you bolstered my courage.
> When I attempted the scientific you helped me to be more philosophical.

This, too, is in Lucy Gage's Book of Memories.

At the time of Lucy Gage's retirement, a message to former students was printed on note paper on which were etchings of two views of the Beersheba cabin. The letter seems a fitting close to the present chapter.

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[10] Excerpt from letter by Lucy Gage published in *The Peabody Reflector and Alumni News*, Vol. III, No. 8, Aug. 1930, p. 24.

Dear Former Students:

With the close of the Summer Quarter, 1942, I shall be leaving Peabody Campus and regular college teaching. You who have shared in my class-room experiences through the twenty-two years of service, I wish also to share in the plans for the on-going of a new life.

From the "Green-house" on the campus to the cabin home on the Cumberland Plateau at Beersheba, Tennessee, will not be such a complete change as might appear. They both hold the processes of living and growing, ever changing into something more than was thought possible at the outset.

You have each contributed to my health, to my work, to my joy, to my deeper spiritual satisfactions. You have not always traveled with me or believed in the interpretation of the viewpoint, but you have respected that viewpoint and sometimes have returned more of a believer than when you left. Childhood and its development has been the continuous theme in season and out of season. There are among you those who have blazed new trails and carried the torch higher and farther. In the present reconstruction of world values children still hold the first line of defense and require the best that conscious adult life has to offer.

However near or far your present location, whatever work you have followed, in the school, in the community, in the nation, in the world, the meaning of your contribution has reverberated to this campus and strengthened the fibre of both the principle learned and its far-reaching effects in practice.

Yours with gratitude and affection,
Lucy Gage

August 1942

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1931: BEFORE AND AHEAD

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1931: BEFORE AND AHEAD

Achievements, 1856-1931

THREE QUARTERS OF A CENTURY HAS PASSED SINCE THE MEETING between Margarethe Schurz and Elizabeth Peabody which has had such a profound influence on the education of children. The young five-year-old Agathe Schurz did not realize how her charming behavior had affected the mature fifty-five-year-old Elizabeth Peabody and how many children were to benefit by it. Nor did *Margarethe Schurz* think of her little kindergarten in Wisconsin as anything more than a way of giving Agathe, her other children and those of her German neighbors in their new country an early education similar to what they would have had in their old homeland. What she had learned from Froebel she must impart to her children in the loving spirit in which he had given it to her. There was no thought in the mind of gentle Margarethe Schurz of playing an important role in education.

A crusader and humanitarian all her life, *Elizabeth Peabody* was readily responsive to the appeal of a better life for children as Margarethe Schurz spoke to her of Froebel and kindergartens. She grasped, too, the similarity of Froebel's philosophy to her own Transcendentalist beliefs. Thus was Froebel's dream realized—the dream of America as fertile soil for the development of his educational ideals. For Elizabeth Peabody was to go on studying, learning, teaching in the interest of promoting kindergartens. Many would learn from her and in their varied ways add new dimensions to the education of children.

Philosophical, mystical, religious *Susan Blow* penetrated the depths of Froebel's thinking as no other did. She grasped the intellectual and spiritual meaning of the activities Froebel had planned for the kindergarten and it was this she tried to impart to her students.

Creative *Kate Douglas Wiggin*, joyous spirit in the slums of Tar Flat, created a world for beauty-starved children in which often for the first time flowers bloomed and brooks babbled—in reality and in the stories she wrote and told them.

Sensitive *Elizabeth Harrison*, as time brought inevitable changes and challenges to cherished ideas, intelligently viewed the strengths and weaknesses of the new and the old and with understanding bridged the gap between the two.

These, and a host of others whom they inspired with their zeal, were the pioneers who laid the foundation upon which others would build for generations to come. They taught, and thousands of teachers shared in their knowledge, skills, insight, devotion and love. They wrote philosophically, interpretively and often in practical classroom detail for adults, and factually, fancifully and spiritually for children. They lectured, often under physical hardships, wherever they could secure an audience. They were promoters and organizers and even fund-raisers for their cause.

Their labors brought deserved reward, the satisfaction within their lifetime of seeing almost phenomenal progress toward the goal they had set for themselves, the humane one of a better start for children through what the kindergarten would give them. It was not easy. They were women, second-class citizens with few property rights and not even the power of the ballot to influence legislation favorable to their mission. Few of their fellow citizens had given thought to the importance of education in childhood. Attitudes in general ranged from indifference to hostility. Only the indomitable spirit of these dauntless women could have made their achievements possible. These were many and important.

In 1860 only one English-speaking kindergarten was in America—the one established by Elizabeth Peabody in Boston; by 1880, 400 were spread over thirty states.[1] Most of these were due to the efforts of kindergarten associations often founded and generously financed by philanthropic women inspired by kindergarten leaders. Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, for example, after a visit to Kate Douglas Wiggin's Silver Street Kindergarten, decided that her mission was "to lay the foundation for a better national character by founding free kindergartens for neglected children." [2] The Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, which Sarah B. Cooper founded and supported for the rest of her life and which was heavily financed by philanthropists, was largely responsible for the rapid growth of kindergartens in California. Similarly early kindergartens in Boston, Cambridge and Brookline were established and supported by philanthropy. Small and large the kindergarten associations continued to grow—the Commissioner of Education gave a list of over 400 in 1897 and stated that a large number had failed to respond to the request for information.[3]

Specially educated teachers were needed to teach young children as Froebel would have them taught, a way very different from anything known at the time in American classrooms. In the early years the training school Susan Blow conducted with her kindergarten in St. Louis was the major source of supply for kindergartners all over the country. Mrs. Harvey Putnam, after she had heard Elizabeth Peabody speak in Chicago, went there to prepare for what was to be her life work, as did Elizabeth Harrison to add to her initial training; together they prepared many kindergartners of the Middle West. Wherever a kindergarten association existed, some effort at teacher training generally was conducted, with the kindergarten itself supplying the practical experience.

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[1] Nina Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908), p. 23.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Similarly parent education, so vital in Froebel's thinking and so appealingly expressed in his *Mother Play*, accompanied the establishment of kindergartens. The sight of their children happily at play in the kindergarten convinced many mothers that there was something the children were getting with the kindergartner that they might learn to supplement at home. This probably accounted for the response from all over the nation that Mrs. Putnam and Elizabeth Harrison received to their invitation to a conference of mothers in Chicago in 1894. This was a forerunner to the establishment of the Congress of Mothers at a conference in 1897 in Washington. Broadening in scope, it became the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, with an uninterrupted career of growth and service over the years and with local groups today in every type of school and community throughout the nation.

While the kindergarten was almost exclusively sponsored and financed by private associations organized for the purpose at all other levels, support for education out of public funds was gaining favor. Despite the valiant efforts of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in the early half of the nineteenth century to arouse people to the necessity of public education for the very survival of the Republic, it was slow in coming. The Old World idea of leadership by an educated elite still held well into the nineteenth century. Private schools topped by a period of European study for the rich and religious or charity education for the poor were widely accepted. As we know, this attitude was very strong even among many of the early kindergarten leaders.

It was not until the decades following the Civil War that a more liberal attitude in education prevailed. Then state and city systems of education came rapidly into being or, if existent, were organized for effective action and financial support of education for all. The liberal spirit was not confined to the financing of education but brought fundamental changes to the curriculum as well. Consideration had to be given to the varied needs, vocational and personal, of a population becoming increasingly diversified in an age becoming highly technical and industrial and with complicated resulting problems.

The kindergarten was a newcomer and had to find acceptance. Legal obstacles were also in the way of the kindergarten's becoming part of the public school system. These had to do with the age of school entrance which was nowhere below the age of six and, in some cases, was as high as eight. This meant that legally there would be no funds for kindergarten children below these entrance ages. But some of the difficulty lay in the attitude of the kindergarten leaders themselves, who feared that in the traditional public school setting the kindergarten would not be able to withstand the pressures for conformity and would lose its uniqueness. In 1873, when Superintendent Harris yielded to the persuasion of Elizabeth Peabody to establish a kindergarten in the St. Louis Public Schools—the first in the United States, even Susan Blow, its teacher, had doubts as to the outcome. Despite difficulties and misgivings in the decade from 1880 to 1890, public kindergartens were in twenty-nine cities, among which were five of the largest—St. Louis, Milwaukee, Boston, Philadelphia and New Orleans; [4] the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1897-98 named 189 cities of over 8,000 inhabitants as maintaining public kindergartens.

As public schools began to include kindergartens in their elementary programs, normal schools which shared in the increased interest in public education of the time began to incorporate preparation for kindergarten teaching in their programs. Notable among these in the decade between 1880 and 1890 were the state normal schools at Oshkosh, Wisconsin; Winona, Minnesota; Oswego and Fredonia, New York; Emporia, Kansas; and normal schools in Connecticut and Michigan.[5] The kindergarten leaders felt assured of a continuing supply of kindergarten teachers from private and public sources.

Meanwhile, in the midst of all this progress the early leaders found themselves challenged in their most cherished beliefs, for the very foundations on which they had so patiently and fervently built were assailed. The 1880's brought a new look at children, a more realistic look, as G. Stanley Hall studied children in the spirit of the science of the age, offering to guide teachers in learning what children really were and in basing their teaching on the facts so revealed. Idealism versus realism! A new leadership would emerge as responsive and dedicated to the new outlook of a new world as was the old leadership to the outlook of its time.

There was *Alice Temple*, a great teacher. Her students spoke of her reverently as they acknowledged the lasting influence she had exerted on them and then found it difficult to recall specific things she had said. Exposed in her early training to the philosophy of John Dewey and convinced of its soundness, she adopted it as the basis of all her professional work. Her teaching and experimenting in the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago and in her University classes, her organization work and her writing all dovetailed in a lasting contribution to a realistic and human approach to children's education.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

Patty Smith Hill, dynamic speaker, enthusiastic leader, appealing teacher, activist in promoting projects, performed a role at Teachers College, Columbia University, similar to Alice Temple's at University of Chicago. Different as they were in temperament, they operated on the same basic educational philosophy and often found themselves as co-workers in liberal-oriented committees.

Ella Victoria Dobbs, starting her work as a teacher of industrial arts and the elementary grades, a staunch believer in the continuity of education from the earliest years, was outstanding in her leadership in extending more liberal education into upper elementary grades. Devoted to teaching, she nevertheless realized that teachers must view their work in its social and political setting and exercise their rights and obligations as citizens.

Warm-hearted *Lucy Gage*, pioneer in background and spirit, quick to think and to feel, in her early twenties argued the legislators of the Territory of Oklahoma into establishing kindergartens in their sparsely developed land. Countless teachers left her classes at George Peabody College in Nashville to enrich the lives of children of the South as she had enriched theirs.

These, along with many others of like mind, were leaders of the second generation who worked for better education for children. They did not supersede the earlier leaders, for all of them except Elizabeth Peabody, who died in 1894 at the age of ninety, went valiantly on into the twentieth century. They worked together, agreeing and differing, champions of their respective philosophies. Honestly and fearlessly, and always courteously, they argued for their positions; and, as the Report of the Committee of Nineteen of IKU[6] with its three subcommittee reports indicates, they sometimes found their points of view could not be reconciled, and said so. In 1903 it was decided in IKU that the philosophy of the Union needed to be clarified and clearly stated, and it took ten years to reach the point of readiness for publication. As an example of sustained debate concerned with fundamental issues and values and conducted without personal animus, it is doubtful whether this attempt to come to grips with one's convictions has a parallel in educational history.

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[6] *The Kindergarten*. Reports of the Committee of Nineteen on the Theory and Practice of the Kindergarten. Authorized by the International Kindergarten Union, 1913.

Cooperation with Other Organizations

SINCE THE WIDESPREAD KINDERGARTEN ASSOCIATIONS IN 1892 HAD consolidated their strengths in International Kindergarten Union, they now had the organization necessary for effective cooperation with other groups on a national and international scale. Alice Temple was one of the leaders who saw the importance of such cooperation; it was her motion at the IKU Conference of 1911 that led to the establishment of the Committee on Cooperation with the National Education Association.

Fruitful work followed as members of both associations thought together on committees, planned and held joint meetings. Contact through meetings with groups of the important Department of Superintendence of NEA was of particular value in gaining significant support for early childhood education. The broadening influence of working with others outside their own circle was appreciated by IKU.

Measured by far-reaching results, the services of the IKU Committee for Cooperation with the U. S. Bureau of Education were signally outstanding. Commissioner P. P. Claxton had succeeded with assistance from IKU in establishing a kindergarten division in the Bureau in 1913 and appealed to IKU for help in its development, particularly in the collection of data. The response was immediate, and the Committee was formed with Nina Vandewalker as chairman. Many able members of IKU served on the committee, and the amount of work in data collection and bulletins was nothing less than prodigious. The bulletin, *The Kindergarten Curriculum,*[7] produced by a subcommittee chaired by Alice Temple, influenced the character of the kindergarten throughout the country for many years.

International Aspects of IKU

COOPERATION INTERNATIONALLY DATED FROM THE DAYS OF ELIZAbeth Peabody, from her visits to study with leading students of Froebel and her responsibility for bringing so many of them to America. Friendships were cemented by attendance of interested kindergartners from foreign countries at annual IKU conferences, while the Yearbooks published reports and letters received from abroad.

About the same time the Committee of Nineteen had rounded out its three-pronged report with its agreements and disagreements in philosophy, they were confronted with still another approach to early childhood education. Mme. Montessori's work in Italy with mentally retarded children was thought by many to have applicability to all children.

[7] *The Kindergarten Curriculum*, by the Subcommittee of the Bureau of Education Committee of the International Kindergarten Union (Washington, D. C., Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 16).

Because of an interest in Mme. Montessori in the United States, IKU asked Elizabeth Harrison in 1912 to spend six months in Rome to study Mme. Montessori's work. With her skill in observation and recording and her well-proved ability to see both sides of a question, the result was a detailed, impartial, objective report published by the Bureau of Education in 1914.[8]

A little later another development, the emphasis on preschool education in Russia following the Revolution of 1917, challenged our American kindergartners. Interest was stimulated by the article written by Vera Fediaevsky,[9] the leading spirit in the movement, for IKU's magazine, CHILDHOOD EDUCATION. Her acceptance of IKU's invitation to her to speak at its 1927 conference, followed by her seven weeks' study of American kindergartens, so interested American educators that a group went to Russia to study the program; and their report of the experience determined Patty Smith Hill to see for herself. Finding much to commend in what she saw, Professor Hill encouraged Vera Fediaevsky to continue writing and later helped her with a book with an English translation of her work.[10]

World War I brought, as wars inevitably do, unspeakable suffering to children. In IKU the Committee of Nineteen took over the relief of children both in the United States and abroad. After Fanniebelle Curtis returned from two years of work with refugee children, the response to her appeal to an IKU meeting in 1917 was not only warm and generous but practical in its developing a kindergarten unit for refugee children in France. Once again IKU leadership was prominent in using its varied abilities, with Annie Laws as chairman of a subcommittee on legislation, Fanniebelle Curtis on education and Elizabeth Harrison on social service.

Writings of Leaders

IN BOTH GENERATIONS, HOWEVER BROADLY THEIR INTERESTS MIGHT expand, the leaders were primarily teachers, with writing growing out of or closely allied to their interests in the education of children. As colleges and universities organized departments of childhood education in various forms, the names of the leaders appearing here were identified with them through important contributions in program development: Alice Temple at the University of Chicago, Susan Blow and Patty Smith Hill at Teachers College of Columbia University, Ella Victoria Dobbs at the University of Missouri, and Lucy Gage at the George Peabody College.

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[8] Elizabeth Harrison, *The Montessori Method and the Kindergarten* (Washington, D. C., Department of the Interior, January 5, 1914).

[9] Vera Fediaevsky, "The Kindergarten in Russia," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, Vol. III, No. 1, 1926, pp. 33-35.

[10] Vera Fediaevsky and Patty Smith Hill, *Nursery School and Parent Education in Soviet Russia* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1936).

The writing of the second generation was markedly different from that of the first. While the earlier leaders were concerned with interpreting the philosophy on which they based their work and describing its application in precise methodology, the later leaders, in the scientific spirit of the age, reported the results of their observations of children and of their experimentation with teaching processes. The book Alice Temple wrote with Samuel Chester Parker, *Unified Kindergarten and First-Grade Teaching,* based on teaching in the Chicago University Laboratory School, exemplifies excellent reporting and analyzing of children and teacher interaction in class activities geared to the interests and life needs of children. The series of books beginning with *A Conduct Curriculum* written by Patty Smith Hill and her staff, based on their experiences in the demonstration school of Teachers College, Columbia University, illustrates how various aspects of the curriculum contributed to the development of children. Ella Victoria Dobbs aimed at improvement of education under ordinary public school conditions by having the children more active, doing more with handwork. She, too, worked in the scientific spirit, observing, recording, analyzing the efforts of the public school teachers of Columbia, Missouri, in working under her guidance. Two books and two bulletins develop her point of view based on public school experience, one of which is an outstanding example of a scientific study made possible through the cooperation of public school classroom teachers.

Implementing Philosophy and Psychology

THE WORK OF THESE THREE LEADERS REPRESENTS VARIATIONS IN APPLICATION of both the indigenous philosophy and the psychology of the time. Philosophically they held in common the emphasis on activity, the encouragement of free and spontaneous activity as the basis of learning, the transformation of the classroom from a place of sitting and following directions to one of movement and initiative; concern with total development, emotional and physical as well as mental; the identification of the teacher with the lives of the children and modifications of the process as deeper knowledge of children suggested it.

The differences in application philosophically lay primarily in content. Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill relied specifically on the problems the children met in the ordinary business of living and, starting with these, extended their horizons with related experience and subject matter. In considering this difference, Ella Victoria Dobbs was working with upper elementary grades and was practical enough to know that it was better to take a possible next step in a public situation than to risk chaos by going too far too quickly.

The difference in application of the scientific approach to education, between Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill on the one hand and Ella Victoria Dobbs on the other, seems almost contradictory to their difference in philosophic approach. While Ella Victoria Dobbs from her use of traditional subject matter might have been expected to use standard achievement measurements, she made the least use of them. Her evaluations of results of the work in the Columbia, Missouri, schools are based primarily on observation and cumulative records of changes in performance and not on standard tests. In contrast, Alice Temple, probably because of the emphasis on testing by Professor Judd after succeeding Professor Dewey at the University of Chicago, used handwriting and drawing scales and standard tests of reading and arithmetic in evaluation of results; Patty Smith Hill advocated and used carefully devised scales and check lists in studying the work in the demonstration school of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Classrooms, based more or less on the Dewey philosophy, began appearing in various places in the United States. As in 1892 those with the interest of the kindergarten at heart organized International Kindergarten Union, in 1916 those concerned with extending the principles of the kindergarten upward into the grades formed the National Council of Primary Education and in 1919 the advocates of the Dewey philosophy united in the Progressive Education Association.

Meanwhile, the measurement movement was creating increasing interest. Intelligence and achievement tests were making their way into the schools with varying uses made of the results.

But it took the shock of World War I to give real impetus to both movements. A colossal calamity had occurred, unrivalled in magnitude and horror. Couldn't it have been prevented? What of education? More people had more education than ever before, and it cost more. Was there something wrong with it? Was something very different needed? A few disagreed on the need for change. As to the kind of change, that was another matter. Once again there were Liberals, Conservatives and Liberal-Conservatives. Some turned to Progressive schools, some to schools that organized and taught on the basis of tests and measurements, and some to schools in-between.

Those, many of them parents, most disturbed over what they believed to be the inadequacies of the schools turned to the Progressive schools. They had become intrigued with the idea of unlimited and as yet undiscovered potentialities in human nature, of the power to develop them inherent in education, of freedom of emotional, physical and mental expression as essential to the fulfillment of the individual. Schools so based would develop a generation equipped and eager to build a world in which hunger and war, if not eliminated, would become less and less over the years. So they believed. If no school was available, they often founded their own schools, and even in a few cases influenced the public schools of their communities toward their desires.

The schools were colorful, literally and figuratively. No drab school-tan walls and brown wainscoting; no screw-down desks; no dark corridors; no barren, cement-paved schoolyards; no schoolroom smell! Instead, gay colors everywhere—often the walls were of different colors in the same room—chairs and tables, plants and animals, pictures, books, musical instruments, tool benches, tubs of water, clay, sand, wood. Casual dress of children and teachers—slacks, smocks, overalls—for there was work to be done and clothes must not get in the way. All was very gay!

Physical environments were conducive to creativeness, as was the permissive, encouraging, companionable, appreciative, nondirective but ready-to-help-when-wanted attitude of the teacher. Children and teachers together attacked problems that needed to be solved because their solution was necessary to the well-being of themselves or others. Needed information could be found in books, from places, by people or wherever the most likely source. In this atmosphere children produced poems, stories, paintings, sculpture, scientific experiments, reports and records of such quality and often originality, that the faith in the unrealized potentiality of human nature that prompted the establishment of these schools seemed amply justified.

As schools increased in numbers and gained in reputation, the Progressive Education Association grew in influence. It reflected almost with mirror-like fidelity the characteristics of the schools it was promoting. Meetings had the same informality, absence of orthodox procedures, creative verve; and the journal, *Progressive Education*, had similar qualities in reproductions of art, poems, stories and excitement of the children's adventurous learning. It was all in the optimistic spirit of the age in which the idealism of World War I, "to make the world safe for democracy," was to be realized. In it education would play a major role.

The United States was not alone in this wave of educational fervor. Aghast and astounded at the catastrophe of World War I, thoughtful Europeans turned to education, also. They, too, created new schools radically different from the old and attempted basic reforms in school systems. Parallel to the Progressive Education Association and its journal, they organized The New Education Fellowship * in 1921 and produced the journal, *The New Era*. As in the past, seas were crossed to exchange

* Now called World Education Fellowship.

visits to each other's schools, to attend each other's conferences; and bonds of friendship among those of varied cultural backgrounds were formed.

Standardization Through Testing

EQUALLY CONVINCED AS THE PROGRESSIVES THAT CHANGE IN EDUCATION was needed, a large number of people took a very different path. It was the well-worn path laid centuries ago with reliance on "knowledge as power." Agreed that it had become rutted with the passage of years and that repairs were needed, today's science and technology could supply the necessary materials and tools for improvement. They had transformed sanitation, food production and processing; they had worked wonders in miracle drugs and surgery. Despite the fact that a third of the nation was ill-housed and undernourished, the available standard of living was far higher than it had ever been.

What could be done in other fields could also be done in education. The immediate solution at hand—and there would be others—was standardization. Knowledge had grown with unprecedented speed in the last few decades, thanks to scientific research, but very little of it had reached the schools. The first task was to revitalize the curriculum by determining through research what all children should learn and at what grade level. All sorts of criteria were devised for the selection of content but in all cases it was predetermined by adults.

It was granted that children differed in capacity to learn, but not sufficient attention had been paid to determining how great the differences were in a classroom of children. The tool had been available since early in the century in Binet and Simon's Intelligence Test for use individually and not much later adapted for group use. A rapid increase was now made in its use for the purpose of grouping children on the basis of ability to learn. If this were done, it was reasoned, children of high intelligence would not be held back by the slow learners and the latter would not be discouraged by comparison with the achievements of their abler classmates.

Achievement tests were available mainly in the basic school subjects—reading, arithmetic, writing, spelling—and by administering them scientifically over broad areas throughout the United States; norms could be established and used as standards for measuring achievement in any community, school or classroom. With these and the intelligence test, often in some combination, children were grouped. The problem of major concern to administrators was how best to group children homogeneously for the most effective learning. This meant how they would make the best showing in standard achievement tests at the end of the year. It is safe to say that the most nearly universal characteristics of education in the 1920's and 1930's were testing and grouping.

While the definiteness of this approach and its aura of strict attention to the business of "learning" recommended it to laymen generally and to many teachers as well, there were those who had serious misgivings. Professor William C. Bagley of Teachers College protested vigorously in speeches and writing against what he termed "determinism," maintaining that the use of intelligence tests in classifying children in school could erroneously determine their future destiny.

Annie E. Moore of Teachers College, Columbia University, expressed the dangers she sensed in the use of achievement tests. In her outstanding book, *The Primary School,* in which she reports in detail work of her students in public schools in many parts of the United States, she states:

> There is a widespread uneasiness among thoughtful and well-informed teachers lest the present prominence of standard tests completely control the selection of subject matter and method.[11]

Miss Moore then cites two abstract courses in arithmetic which bear a strong correspondence to the functions measured by standard tests. She comments:

> Inevitably the tendency of the school is to attach paramount importance to those achievements by which standing is determined, with the result that abstract operations will get the lion's share of attention unless other influences preserve a balance.[12]

Probably Alice Temple and Patty Smith Hill and others like them thoroughly committed to the progressive philosophy shared Miss Moore's misgivings. They may have felt that "other influences" would "preserve a balance"; and that the standard test, limited and dangerous as it was, if intelligently used, could add something to the knowledge of children. If tests did this, they felt nothing should be scorned.

There was questioning, even among the Progressives, of some of the interpretations being made of the Dewey philosophy. Activity is overemphasized on the physical side and not enough on the mental, it was said. Children are expected to make decisions too mature for their years. Acquiring subject matter as needed for the solution of problems gives no assurance of a sound foundation for advanced study. No doubt criticism was valid in many cases; it was evident that there was more enthusiasm than intelligent application of Dewey's philosophy.

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[11] Annie E. Moore, *The Primary School* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1925), p. 293.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

School and Society: Divergent Points of View

BUT NO CRITICISM SMOTE WITH SUCH FORCE AGAINST ANY SATISFACTION with the creative achievements of the children the Progressives might be enjoying as the challenge Professor George S. Counts hurled at them in 1924. "Dare the schools build a new social order?" [13] Professor Counts viewed the world about him with the eyes of an educator, a scholar not only profound in his chosen field but in history and sociology as well. He saw beneath the apparent prosperity of the 1920's the threat of inevitable disaster: the plight of the farmers struggling to hold their small holdings against the competition of huge mechanized farms; the concentration of wealth in huge corporations; production greater than the capacity to consume; installment buying and speculation; bootlegging following the Volstead Act and death from poisonous liquors.

With this panorama of possible tragedy ahead, much as he appreciated the freedom and joyousness of the Progressive schools, he felt that with few exceptions they were not carrying their responsibility as they should for building a better social order. That they should was for Professor Counts the essence of Dewey's philosophy. He charged the Progressive Education Association with finding the way.

Dare it? Can it? Should it? What was the role of the school in social change? Professor Counts' words set off a barrage of controversy. As the 1920's wore on, their hectic quality brought increasing uneasiness to the thoughtful. But when the crash of 1929 came few were prepared for it and even less for the tragedies to follow. But some educators were becoming very concerned over the fundamental questions of the relation of school and society. Far-reaching implications both good and bad were in these questions. If the school concerned itself with the solution of social problems, was it not trespassing on other institutions of society—home, church, politics, economics, welfare? Would it not be better for the school to keep to its function—thorough grounding in knowledge and skills based on the social heritage? Furthermore, was there not danger if schools become socially oriented, that they might become tools of the advocates of this or that ideology and lead to statism?

Training Teachers for Progressive Program

THERE WERE NO EASY ANSWERS. A SIGNAL SERVICE IN AT LEAST clarifying the issues involved in these questions was rendered at a joint meeting called by the Department of Superintendence and the National Council of Primary Education. International Kindergarten Union and National Council of Primary Education, both of which had been giving increasing attention to matters beyond the classroom, participated; and the latter, to its very great credit, published the full proceedings in *The Training of Teachers for a Progressive Educational Program*, a bulletin of NCPE, April 1931.

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[13] George S. Counts. *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: John Day Co., 1932).

Each of the speakers at the meeting was an influential leader with a strong following for the particular ideas he held: Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick, Professor of Teachers College, Columbia University; Professor Charles Judd, Director of School of Education, University of Chicago; Dr. Jesse H. Newlon, Professor of Education and Director of Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University; and Dr. Ernest Horn, Director of the University Elementary School, State University of Iowa.

Professor Kilpatrick emphasized learning through attacking problems involving the whole child. As against a compartmentalized subject-matter approach, he maintained that learning is an "integration of thinking, feeling, muscular movement, internal glandular secretion, all acting together." He affirmed that the school is responsible "for taking care of all these learnings . . . and that is what we mean by regard for the whole child."[14]

In contrast, Professor Judd, vigorous supporter of the testing movement, lashed out at "the small cult that had abrogated to itself the title 'Progressive' " and declared it "neither wise nor sound in its educational doctrine." He ridiculed the concept of "the whole child." In opposition to it he would develop a "new Progressiveness" in which "teachers shall teach subjects, recognize the child as a collection of selves, organize a natural course of study, avoid all speculative vagaries and arduously study strictly empirical psychology."[15]

Professor Newlon, who exemplified his position in the social studies program of Lincoln School, made a plea for a teacher education that would stress the social responsibilities of education. "The new school," he said, "will be concerned not only with method but with the study of contemporary life. . . . The teacher can be alert to the possibilities of building desirable social attitudes and interests and the development of abilities only if she has as deep understanding of social processes and problems of the child and his development."[16]

Professor Horn, retaining much of the idealistic philosophy which had inspired the Froebelians, viewed the immediate from his broad philosophic and historic background. He outlined four trends in current education: study of social conditions; study of children; improvement of methodology in teaching traditional subject matter; the development of instruments of measurement. He maintained that there should be no antagonism among the four, that each needed to be evaluated, their strengths retained and their weaknesses corrected. He referred to the confusion in teachers' minds due to rapid change in procedures without proper evaluation. "We have had too many weather vanes," he said. "What we need is more compasses." Finally he expressed the essence of his beliefs when he warned against too deep absorption in the problems and processes of modern life unless the persistent and universal values were the guides in their treatment.[17]

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[14] Judd et al., *The Training of Teachers for a Progressive Educational Program*. NCPE Bulletin, Vol. XIV, No. 2, April 1931 (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International).

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

At this memorable meeting each speaker emphasized that there existed in the schools of the United States—often in the same school district, sometimes in the same school—the study of the contemporary scene and the responsibility of the school for social good; the adherence to subject matter and the scientific measurement of academic achievement; the focus not merely on mental development but on the total development of the whole child; the thrust on persistent and universal values upon which education should be based.

The Merger of IKU and NCPE

IT WAS AT THIS TIME OF THE MOST WIDESPREAD AND SEARCHING probe into the meaning and purpose of education that International Kindergarten Union and National Council of Primary Education merged to form Association for Childhood Education. Just six months had elapsed since the stock market crash of 1929 when IKU met in April 1930 at Memphis and, in the interest of enlarging its function to include children in the grades, changed its name to Association for Childhood Education. In 1931 National Council of Primary Education gave up its independence and merged with the Association for Childhood Education.

The idea was not new. It had long been in the minds of members of IKU. Alice Temple, Patty Smith Hill and Lucy Gage, engrossed entirely in the kindergarten at the beginning of their careers, soon realized that its basic principles were equally applicable in the primary school. It was all wrong to have children on entering the first grade subjected to procedures that violated the kindergarten principles. Ella Victoria Dobbs, at no time a kindergartner but interested primarily in the grades, was equally convinced that the principles governing growth and learning were essentially the same at all stages, and that continuity of the educational process was of prime importance.

Her desire to see the principles in which she so firmly believed permeate elementary education had led Ella Victoria Dobbs in 1916 into leadership in organizing and developing National Council of Primary Education. Annie Moore, Lillie Ernst, Julia Hahn and others shared her enthusiasm and soon attracted a large membership in the Council. Many, like Lucy Gage, originally members of IKU, also joined NCPE to cement the relationship between the two groups. Common interests and goals, serving on joint committees, espousing the same causes, holding joint sessions for the sixteen years of the Council's existence made the merger seem to many a natural consummation.

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

All had been carefully planned. Two committees, designated respectively "Conferring" and "Amendments," had been appointed in 1929. Their completed reports had been mailed to the membership two months in advance of the 1930 meeting so that all members might have opportunity to study them before voting on them.

The report of IKU Conferring Committee, chaired by Edna Dean Baker, gave in detail five reasons for the merger. In summary these were:

1. The psychological needs of the child from two to eight can best be met by a unified educational approach.
2. Teacher training is moving into a unified kindergarten-primary program.
3. The enlarged organization would be more influential in the spread of progressive education practices.
4. The enlarged organization would bring more financial support.
5. The organization has already gone beyond the kindergarten in its scope.[18]

Miss Ella Ruth Boyce, chairman of the Amendments Committee, presented the proposed amendments for change of name and enlarged scope. Among the many who spoke in favor of the proposals were two who for many years had striven for this broadened function. Alice Temple commented, "We have suffered by holding too closely to the name kindergarten. We have functioned beyond it and before it." And Lucy Gage, with her characteristic social slant, added her word: "The greatest criticism against education today is that it is not socially-minded. This broadened conception of our function will remove such criticism." [19]

Had Annie Laws been there, her voice undoubtedly would have been heard. She had been responsible for drafting the original constitution in 1892 and every constitutional change until this major one; and whenever there was any question regarding parliamentary procedure, it was Annie Laws to whom the Union looked for guidance. Her friends called her "Auntie By-Laws." * Her name had been listed in "In Memoriam" in the Yearbook of 1928.

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[18] Yearbook of the International Kindergarten Union, 1930, Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting, Memphis, Tennessee, 1930, p. 43-44.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

There had been, however, among the early Froebelians those who looked with considerable doubt at attempts to articulate the kindergarten and the grades. Even Susan Blow, who directed the first public school kindergarten in the United States, insisted on its separateness, fearing that otherwise, instead of influencing the grades, its uniqueness would be lost under the pressures of the entrenched traditional elementary education. There were still at the IKU meeting of 1930 those who held the same concern. Lucy Wheelock, respected member of IKU since its beginning and a leader of the Liberal-Conservative group of the Committee of Nineteen, was the most articulate in expressing this concern.

In the discussion following the motion to change the name of the Union to Association for Childhood Education and to include Nursery, Kindergarten and Primary Education in its scope, Lucy Wheelock spoke for specific aims and the value of limited purposes. She referred to the history of IKU with its steady growth and expanding influence as proof for no need to combine with other organizations in order to increase membership; she quoted educators who felt that the loss of identity might mean loss of influence. She closed with a plea to preserve the original purpose, aim, name and ideals of International Kindergarten Union. Popular and esteemed as Miss Wheelock was, her objection did not influence the outcome, and even she did not vote against the change.

No comparable detailed record of discussion as given in the 1930 IKU Yearbook is available in an NCPE bulletin. Instead there is a two-and-a-half-page statement addressed to members of the Council reporting the facts of the merger. It also conveys the Council's aspirations for the future; for example, the opening paragraph:

> The year 1931 will stand as a culmination of hopes for the unification of all interests of childhood education. At this time International Kindergarten Union and National Council of Primary Education united as Association for Childhood Education.[20]

There is a justifiable touch of pride in the mention of some of the emphases characteristic of the Council: the appeal to classroom teachers

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* Helen Bertermann, member of ACEI Early Leaders in Childhood Education Committee, contributed personal reminiscences of Annie Laws to the writer for whom she arranged a visit to the University of Cincinnati. There Annie Laws is commemorated in a bronze plaque in the entrance hall to the education building. The writer was shown Annie Laws' portrait over the fireplace in the social room which she had furnished as a gift to the University.

[20] Statement on Merger of National Council of Primary Education and International Kindergarten Union to Members of NCPE (Archives, Association for Childhood Education International).

through its local discussion groups; development of local leadership; its reports of research, bulletins, field work; its facilitating the diffusion of ideas through its joint meetings with the Department of Superintendence and other national and regional groups.

That the concepts of *unity* and *continuity* had won out over those of concentration and specialization, and the consequent willingness of the Council to give up its identity, is tellingly expressed:

> A common interest in children and increasing realization of continuity of growth and education and our willingness to subordinate the purposes and forms of separate organization to these major ends combined to bring about the unification. . . . In this fusion full confidence is placed in our membership to sustain and promote the ideals which have guided us and to develop to the full our potential strength."[21]

Though there were no dissenting voices when the vote on the change was taken, the feeling expressed by Miss Wheelock was undoubtedly shared by others. The issue faced was crucial, one underlying many a practical problem of ways and means: How can the greater good be accomplished? By intensive concentration in a limited area or by an extensive spread over a broader area? At the present writing, after almost one hundred years of effort, only 38 of the 50 states have some form of provision for publicly supported kindergartens. Would it have been different if IKU had kept to its original concentration on kindergartens? Was the general improvement of the whole scope of elementary education more important? Which ultimately would effect the well-being of more children? We do not know.

Some hint that such questioning was in the minds of the membership of IKU is suggested in a personal word Edna Dean Baker added to her letter to Jennie Wahlert, Executive Secretary of NCPE, in which she reported the action taken at IKU meeting:

> Unofficially I wish to state that the members of the Conferring Committee, although representing the most divergent views in the beginning, have worked together in the finest spirit, attempting to see what is best at this time for this organization, for the kindergarten in which we are all deeply interested and for the larger cause of education.

It is fortunate for the researchers of the future that three of the leaders—Ella Victoria Dobbs, Lucy Gage and Julia Hahn, each in turn had been the President of the Council—immediately took it upon themselves to write its history.[22] Like the closing message to the membership, the history of the Council is factual and also includes such documentation as the program of each major meeting, the Constitution and the list of officers with their years of service. Perhaps just as important, the writers managed to clothe the factual data with something of the personality of the Council—its good fellowship, naturalness, freedom from restrictive rules and procedures, and the vitality of its simplicity.

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[21] *Ibid.*, Merger Statement, p. 1.

[22] Ella Victoria Dobbs, Lucy Gage and Julia Hahn, *History of the National Council of Primary Education*, NCPE, 1932.

While members of the two organizations were earnestly discussing how their merger could bring better education to more children, outside the doors there was an ominous quiet as men and women walked listlessly along the streets, their faces blanched with fear of what an unknown future held for them. Some, sooner or later, would be found in bread lines as the queues daily lengthened. Some of the men driven out of what in even prosperous times were miserable hovels would be seen sleeping on newspapers spread on subway floors. The Depression of the 1930's was on.

A Glimpse Ahead

WEARY YEARS OF DEPRESSION LAY AHEAD, TO BE FOLLOWED BY WORLD War II, the Korean War, the Cold War, the Indochina struggle and a divided world. The pace of the scientific and technological world would quicken, and speed would characterize all aspects of life. Incredible achievements in science would conquer one disease after another and prolong life, while others would destroy life on highways and in warfare. Amazing as advances in agriculture would be, they would not be able to curb the starvation of burgeoning populations.

All over the world there would be a restlessness, both articulate and inarticulate, often bursting into violence. Submerged nations would demand their freedom, break the shackles of colonialism and, unprepared for the responsibilities and processes of freedom, would flounder helplessly before some type of balance would be achieved. The poor of the affluent nations, like their brothers of the undeveloped nations, would demand their freedom—freedom from intolerable slum life and discrimination. They, too, would resort at first to violence, until more effective methods would be learned. Youth, facing a future many believing to be without hope, would become disenchanted. Some would find forgetfulness in a drug-produced fantasy world; others would protest peacefully and still others would resort to violence. Some, wise beyond their years, would channel their concerns into determination, at whatever self-sacrifice it might entail, to make the American dream more of a reality.

How sensitive would the teachers be to the troubled world in which they were to teach? Would they continue to believe, as did the early leaders in childhood education, that if only children could be taught early enough and well enough as they grew up, they would make a better world? How would they interpret "early enough and well enough"? Which of the emphases so eloquently expressed by the four speakers at that thought-provoking NCPE meeting would prevail? How would they meet the pressures of a fear-ridden public to use the mechanical devices of the technologists so that children could master the tools of learning earlier and thus meet the competition of the enemy? With scorn, with welcome, with discrimination? Would there continue to be similar line-up of Conservative, Liberal and Liberal-Conservative as before? Probably there were already premonitions of it in the four points of view presented at that 1930 joint meeting.

Will teachers assume a more responsible social role? Will the fact that so many will be married with children of their own, as contrasted with the general spinsterhood of teachers in the early days, make them more sensitive to the world beyond home and school? The early leaders were in the main Anglo-Saxon, middle-class professional and business background, ardently Christian and Protestant. The teaching group would become increasingly heterogenous in ethnic, national, religious and economic background. Will this mean greater empathy with the similarly increasing heterogeneity of their pupils? Greater emphasis on discovering and developing their more varied potentials? Or will the growing standardization in all aspects of life spur teachers to iron out both their own characteristics and those of their pupils in the struggle for conformity? Will the concept of the "melting pot" or of "cultural pluralism" dominate? Will their multiple and often conflicting duties confine them to a more realistic approach, relating teaching to the problems affecting the lives of all, including children? Or will they move to recognize the powerful emotional drives that determine so much of human behavior and the need for their guidance; to consider the persisting values, as Ernest Horn would have it, essential to dealing effectively with immediate problems?

Whatever the answers to these questions might be, the priceless heritage of dedication to children which our "Dauntless Women" left will not be lost. There is support for the confidence with which this is said in that, at the meeting that consummated the merger of the two groups, the first action was the endorsement of the Children's Charter. Its ringing words had guided their actions through all the long years they had striven for children and might have been said by any one of them:

> For every child these rights, regardless of race, or color, or situation, wherever he may live under the protection of the American flag.

THE FUTURE: 1931 and On

AN ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL committee, Later Leaders in Childhood Education (1931 and on), is presently identifying leaders and gathering relevant data. It is hoped that the source material—books, articles, reviews, autobiographies, scrapbooks, news clippings, photos, letters and anecdotes—will ultimately result in a sequel to *Dauntless Women in Childhood Education, 1856-1931*.

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